



INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE SERIES.

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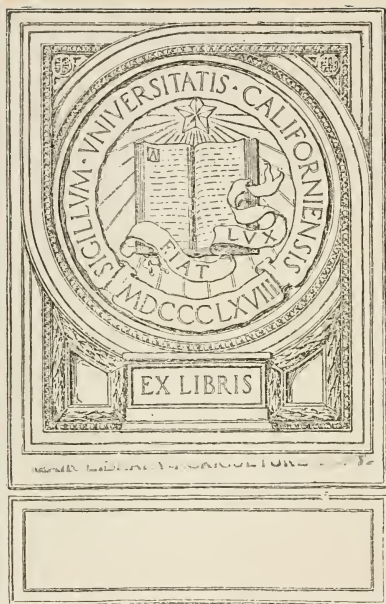
Co-operation in Scotland

BY

JAMES LUCAS, M.A.



MANCHESTER: THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED,
HOLYOAKE HOUSE, HANOVER STREET.



CO-OPERATION IN SCOTLAND



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Co-operation — — in Scotland

BY

JAMES LUCAS, M.A.



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PREFACE.

"Co-operation in Scotland" is one of a series of books descriptive of co-operation in various countries published by the Publications Committee of the British Co-operative Union. Each book included in the series deals with the origin, growth, and progress of co-operation in a single country, and it is hoped that the series will prove to be of service to the student of co-operation, and of interest to the general reader. It is believed that men and women everywhere desire to know more concerning co-operation, and the present series of books is intended to meet that need.

The present volume surveys the early days of co-operation in Scotland, the first experiments made by Scottish pioneers, and the growth of the co-operative movement in Scotland in more recent years. It will be seen that the co-operative seed sown in Scotland was sown in fruitful soil, and that it has yielded an abundant harvest.

January, 1920.



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Co-operation in Scotland.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SCOTLAND is no parvenu among the nations of the world. It had been welded together ere the kingdom of Spain had become one, and while the petty princelings of Europe were still struggling for spoils and booty. It is, therefore, no mere fashion of speech to call Scotland an ancient kingdom. Its early accession to political unity might have led to such an expansion as has been seen in the case of the Duchy of Brandenburg, which grew so great that it sought to become a second Holy Roman Empire.

Fortunately for Scotland, if not for the world in general, nature by means of geographical limitations prevented such a growth, and the nation remained a small one, gaining in intent what it lost in extent. The very narrowness of its boundaries intensified the spirit of nationality, and helped to make it one of the most individualistic nations on the face of the earth. But there were other reasons too, belonging also to the domain of geography, which helped to give Scotland that "*ingenium perfervidum*" of which strangers have written, and to make the people of Scotland self-sufficient and independent, as they would have termed themselves.

Only a third of Scotland has ever been fit for tillage, and to the poor soil there has been added an indifferent climate. The dull, grey, leaden skies, with but few fleeting glimpses of Heaven's blue or Heaven's sunshine; the weeping mists swirling down from "Ben and Brae," made existence in Scotland one long struggle with nature. Life could be sustained only by the most arduous exertions. He

who would live had to work and fight, and thus were developed those traits of Scottish character which have made Scotsmen self-reliant and individualistic, tenacious and proud.

How it has come about that a people so individualistic by training and inheritance should have developed so strongly the co-operative spirit and should have made the principles of modern co-operation so successful in their practical application, it will be partly the purpose of subsequent chapters to show.

It is a commonplace that no individual and no institution can escape its environment, either of place, or time, or nationality, and this is specially true of the co-operative movement in Scotland. However closely it may resemble similar movements elsewhere, whatever it may have borrowed or transplanted from other countries, co-operation in Scotland, by its very success, has taken from the air that it breathes something redolent of the mountains, moors, and mosses of Caledonia. Had the movement failed to do so, death, or at least a tenuous vitality, would have been its portion. In its vigour to-day, in its persistence, in its self-assertion, in a certain roughness of order and method, we see proof of its national character. Its faults no less than its virtues proclaim it no alien. It is no exotic requiring hot-house protection and a gardener's special care.

It is the purpose of this little book to trace briefly, in the first instance, the earliest developments of associated effort in Scotland, and, in the second instance, to exhibit more fully the chief phases of modern co-operation; to show how the one state has evolved from the other and what the causes have been that were mainly instrumental in determining those different states.

The book is based mainly on the pioneer History of Scottish Co-operation, by Sir William Maxwell, whose investigations have done so much to make the work of subsequent explorers in this region of industrial history easier. At the same time, all experience shows that no writer, however painstaking, however well informed—and

no man was better equipped for the task than the former chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society—can do more than map out the line for others to follow. He must of necessity leave much uncharted. There is room, therefore, for additional research, especially in tracing the genesis of the co-operative organisations that existed in the 18th century, and in showing how far they were connected with the decaying feudal institutions of still earlier days. No such essay is made in this primer. It is obviously not intended to supersede or supplement Sir William Maxwell's book. It is intended for the general reader rather than the student, but if it turns some of the general readers into students of co-operative history, and stimulates in them the spirit of research, it will not have been written in vain.

To the present writer this seems a particularly favourable time to take historical stock, to see whence we came, why we came and how we came, so that those who wear the prophet's mantle may more easily predict whither we go.

The end in view is not always the end attained. As we mount upwards the shape and appearance of the mountain peaks change, and are transmuted by the difference in the altitude of the observer. The peak that seemed to tower highest gives pre-eminence to another; the supposedly inaccessible reveals an easy ascent, and so we reach one height to discover that it is a day's march nearer home, but that it is not home. The goal is ever before us but is never reached. Our line of march is towards a horizon which ever flies before us.

He who thinks that any one formula contains the final solution, or that any system of government, or of economics is the ultimate, beyond which there is no other, deceives himself. There can be no finality to progress; but to look back, or to look down and see the winding, tortuous track by which we have ascended to our present position, is one of the best correctives, both of despair on the one hand, and of that blind optimism on the other which ever thinks it has just found the *elixir vitæ* for humanity.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SCOTTISH INDUSTRY.

GEOGRAPHY is an excellent handmaid to history, lighting up the dark places with her explanations. No great study of the map of Scotland is required to show that the east coast of Scotland, with its proximity to the continent, and its strip of comparatively level and fertile soil, was likely to feel the first stirrings of industrial and commercial life. The west coast, separated by mountain ranges and impassable bogs from the east, looked toward an unknown America. For the greater part of its length, with its hundreds of picturesque islands and fiords, the soil, by reason of its poverty and mountainous character, could give no support to agriculture, the key industry of every State. There was only the little stretch from Greenock to Maidenkirke where agriculture and other industries had a chance of flourishing. But this stretch, as has been said, was almost isolated from the industrial and commercial life of the east, and the new world had not yet arisen to call into active life the metropolis of the west, the second city of the British Empire.

It is in the east, therefore, that we find the early beginnings of industrial and commercial life, with their attendant train of organisations, known as merchant guilds and craft guilds. Before saying a few words on these forerunners of modern syndicates and trades unions, it may be well to refer to those other social conditions imposed on the country by the grafting of Feudalism on the clan or sept system.

Historians are often adjured to leave the kings and queens out of their histories, and to confine themselves to the story of the people ; but such histories would give but an indifferent explanation of the turns and twists of the industrial development, by means of which the people lived. As an illustra-

tion of this, one might note the immense importance of the marriage of Malcolm Canmore to the Saxon Princess, Margaret, and how profoundly it affected every department of national life. To this marriage can be ascribed the rapid introduction of Feudalism into Scotland.

The Feudal system was at once a system of government, a military system and a system of land tenure. To this later part of Feudalism it is proposed to direct attention. Under it the poorer freemen became serfs thirled to the soil. On the manors they were taught to work for a master, very much as in England, while parts of the manorial estates were allocated to them to till for their own benefit. Their very poverty forced them to work together. Draught beasts, whether oxen or horses, were few in number, as likewise were the clumsy agricultural implements; hence co-operative farming was a necessity.

In the little towns which sprang up under the protection of king, peer, or prelate, co-operative effort was also found to be most effective, and hence arose the merchant and craft guilds. It is unnecessary here to discuss whether these guilds came from England or whether they had a common origin in similar institutions in Italy. It is sufficient to note that the earliest records show that the fertile strip of country in the north-east of Scotland saw their inception. A royal charter issued by William the Lion, in 1179, shows that a co-operative society, in the form of a merchants' federation, had then been formed in the north-eastern corner of Scotland. In 1209 a statute was passed legalising merchant guilds, which had doubtless been in existence long before.

Some of the craft guilds claim a more ancient origin, and this claim is likely to be well founded from the nature of the case. It is evident that the merchant guilds in the first instance were composed of sea-faring men, for it is stipulated in one of the statutes that all disputes between them and the burgesses must be settled within the period of three tides of the sea. The distinction between

members of the two guilds was at first very elastic, but gradually the merchant class became the wealthier and obtained control over the burghs. During the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, the contest for municipal control was keenly fought, and ever the power of the craftsmen kept growing.

How great that power had become, even by the sixteenth century, is evidenced by the fact that Mary, Queen of Scots, despite the assistance of the larger part of the nobility, was hopelessly beaten by the Regent Moray, because he had on his side the craft guilds of the Scottish burghs. The Regent Mills, now belonging to the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, contain, in their name at least, a memorial of the reward given to the craftsmen by the "Good Regent," for services rendered at the battle of Langside.

While these mediæval forms of co-operation may not receive the approval of modern co-operators, they served a useful purpose in their day and generation. Each burgh then had an industrial life of its own. No man, save a burgess, could carry on any industry within the liberties of the burgh. Only during fairs could outsiders come in and do any business. Before one could become either a craftsman or a member of the merchant guild he had to be a burgess. Burgess-ship was then a real privilege, although it carried with it police and military duties. Even as late as the closing years of the eighteenth century, James Watt could not start in business in Glasgow, unless under the protection of the ancient university of the city. Even if there had been no industrial revolution, it is certain that this form of co-operation would have gradually died out ; but the rapid increase of commercial and industrial undertakings, through the many inventions and discoveries, rendered its continuance impossible. These guilds or incorporations, as they are termed, had then become little more than middle-class friendly societies.

The co-operator of to-day has something to learn from these old institutions. He may learn that membership meant not only rights but also duties, both dangerous and

irksome ; the souters of Selkirk perished almost to a man with their king at Flodden. He may learn that even a successful monopoly contains within itself the poison that will ultimately kill it. He may also learn that co-operation is not a recent invention, but merely a re-discovery of an old system, with modifications to meet altered conditions.

CHAPTER III.

SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE century that saw the first harbinger of the modern co-operative store opened amidst the gloomiest auspices. For four years famine had stalked through the length and breadth of the land, slaying men, women, and children.

On the road to the churchyard the dead were to be tracked, having died in their last endeavour to obtain Christian burial. In the churchyard itself, starving wretches fought with one another for the "dockens" that grew rank amidst the heaved-up turf. Whole parishes were swept away in those terrible years, and yet three years of the century were to pass ere the earth gave of its accustomed bounty and the lean years passed away.

Little wonder was it that a bad harvest should spell such suffering and death in Scotland. The wars with England, the feudal troubles arising from the weakness or the youth of the Stewart kings, the turmoils arising from the Reformation and the Covenanted struggles, had rendered progress in agriculture, or indeed in art or science, almost impossible. In agriculture especially, it is possible to note the stagnation of an important industry, and it is safe to assert that from the time of Alexander III. to the beginning of the 18th century there was little or no improvement in the cultivation of the soil. Indeed, in some respects, there was retrogression.

To the primitive methods employed there was added a system of land tenure which precluded all chance of improvement. In many cases the farm or croft was held for a year only, and there was thus no inducement to a skilful farmer to improve his land, as the benefit of such improve-

ments might not come to him. The land, too, was so badly drained that the raising of grain was possible only on the hillside. The flat low-lying portions of land were mostly bog.

The clumsy wooden ploughs, drawn by teams of oxen or by women, while gangs of men went in advance to lift the stones or rocks out of the way, merely tickled the surface of the earth, and then the return was only threefold, so that the harvest was said to be allocated as follows: One grain for the laird, one for seed, and one for food. Until turnips were introduced about the middle of the 18th century and there was an improvement of the pasture, cattle rearing and sheep rearing were hazardous and highly speculative occupations.

With the middle of the century there began a new era for agriculture. At first the introduction of improvements, whether from England or not, was stubbornly resisted by a people naturally conservative, but when the tide of improvement had once set in it ran rapidly, and in the short space of fifty years the farmers of Scotland had advanced from the last place to the first place in Europe, a position they still maintain. The infant industries, which the first stirrings of the industrial revolution had brought to life, were growing rapidly, and the determination with which the Scots had fought for a living on a poor soil and in an uncertain climate, was turned into the industrial and commercial struggle.

The new method by which Descartes and Bacon had taught our inventors to master the forces of nature had come almost simultaneously with the discovery of a new world, and the west of Scotland, or at least that portion of it which stretches from the Clyde to the Solway, began to share in the industrial development. The mineral riches of the lowlands of Scotland, so long hidden in the bowels of the earth, were uncovered, and nowhere did the industrial revolution produce such profound results—good and bad—as in the west of Scotland. The mad race for wealth began, a race without restrictions, in which the weakest were trampled under foot; only the strong could keep their heads above the maelstrom.

The aggregate wealth of the country rapidly mounted upward, but while a few individuals here and there secured the great mass of this wealth, the poor became poorer, and to their poverty there usually was added the embittering knowledge that their loss was the gain of a few. Formerly, they had suffered and starved in their conflict with nature; but their poor harvests had seemed to them a decree of the Almighty, against which it were impious to repine; now, instead of suffering from recurring bad harvests, they starved under recurring spells of dull trade. In the one, they saw the hand of God, in the other, they saw the hand of their fellow-man, which seemed to snatch from them the legitimate fruits of their toil.

Into the midst of this economic anarchy there crept the new political ideas of the time, which to a certain extent superseded the religious polemics which had previously exercised the minds of the people.

Out of this seething ferment of ideas and of chaotic industrial conditions there arose the earliest beginnings of modern co-operation. Even to the best thinkers of the period it must have appeared something alien to the spirit and tendencies of the time. Merchant guilds and craft guilds as well as other obsolete and obsolescent feudal restrictions were being ruthlessly cast away as inimical to that freedom of action and thought for which the world was clamouring. Was not this new co-operation a harking back to old world combinations which had so much hindered the development of industry? No doubt many such queries were asked and pondered over by the thinking minds of Scotland, and there can be no doubt of the answers given by those who were successful in the risky race for riches.

This brief sketch is an altogether inadequate description of Scotland of the latter half of the 18th century. This chapter of Scottish history still remains to be written, for no writer has as yet attempted to separate into their different currents of national life the political, religious, and industrial movements of the times.

At this stage it will be well to point out a few of the factors that helped to bring into existence the new politico-industrial organisation, which was to become such an important entity in the commercial world in the 20th century.

Co-operation in the middle ages had taken the form of guilds, and in rural life had been manifest in the manor. As these collective organisations began to decay the new individualism began to take its place. Yet communal activities did not altogether disappear, nor were they confined to civic and state enterprises. The Presbyterian church at least had, theoretically, and very often practically, a democratic constitution. Through its various courts, especially its lowest court—the Kirk session—the members exercised a control far in advance of that which they exercised either in the burgh or the Estates. While in the first instance the elders or members of the Kirk session, elected by the congregation, exercised religious and moral control over the parish, their duties were not confined to these functions. It was their business to administer poor relief from their scanty funds, and in this connection we have records to show that some of the Kirk sessions organised what would now be termed land banks, as well as other forms of associated effort. The civic training given in these courts, and the work done by them, enabled Scotsmen all the more easily and the more readily to undertake other forms of concerted action. It gave to them a species of mental and moral capital, which was of no little value in building up, not only modern co-operation but also modern trade-unionism, and the modern civic and national spirit. The creation, by the industrial revolution, of an industrial proletariat gave this spirit and this training a fertile soil, on which it was possible to cultivate these new systems of association.

In searching out causes, one must not omit a reference to the outbreak of the French revolution towards the close of the century, and its influence on the industrial and political conditions of the time. From the "Friends of the People," as the extreme admirers of the revolution termed themselves,

came many who were to be the advance guard of the co-operative army. From one point of view the liberty of the revolution was hardly consonant with co-operation, for it connoted not only political but also industrial liberty. In the latter liberty man was free to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, a policy which meant unrestricted competition. In the political domain, and it was here where it chiefly applied, liberty consisted in the right of every citizen to exercise his civic rights without interference. The apparent inconsistency noted above may still be seen in the official attitude of the co-operative movement towards the question of Free Trade.

While such questions may rightly occupy those looking on from a distance, those in the midst of the affair have neither the time nor the inclination to analyse too closely their motives or their logical outcome. If man were a truly logical animal the end would be seen from the beginning. Besides, it must be remembered that the industrial revolution which created industrial and commercial competition had within itself the antidote for the bane it brought. In its division of labour and its factory system it was inaugurating the company and the trust, which are merely forms of co-operation having the wrong end in view. "Hawks do not pick out hawks' een," and individual capitalists were just as quick to discover the disadvantages of undiluted competition as their workers in the factories. The one party sought relief in the formation of joint-stock companies, the other party sought it in trade unions and co-operation.

The early meal societies and meat societies, some of which are described in Sir William Maxwell's "History of Co-operation," were economic concerns pure and simple. They had nothing, and they professed to have none, of the idealism which was to be the energising spirit of modern co-operation; but these little beginnings meant one thing, at least by implication, and that was the destruction of credit trading. To exchange the serfdom of feudalism for the serfdom of debt was to leap out of the frying pan into the fire, and

everything that tended to save the workers from that second yoke meant the beginning of an idealism. Burns had felt the bitterness of debt, and it was with heart-whole sincerity that he wrote :—

“ Gather gear by every wile
That’s justified by honour,
Not for to hide it in a hedge,
Nor for a train attendant,
But for the glorious privilege
Of being independent.”

That the underlying motive of these primitive societies started in Scotland was thrift can be seen in the name “economic,” which came to be attached to those societies that did not practise the Rochdale plan of distributing their trading surpluses as dividend.

To the weavers, perhaps the most advanced of their time, belongs the honour of founding the earliest of these co-operative ventures. Sir William Maxwell’s researches enabled him to unearth a few particulars of one such society formed in the village of Fenwick, a few miles from Kilmarnock. There the members of the Weavers’ Friendly Society combined to purchase oatmeal, “chief of Scotia’s food,” in bulk, and divide it amongst their members. From 1770, when they began business, till 1800 they made a net profit of £35. 4s. 0½d. How they disposed of their small profit is not disclosed.

This little society is only one example of other societies which sprang up, flourished and decayed in dozens of other villages of Scotland, although we have no record, other than tradition, of their existence. In Lanark, for example, there was only one butcher in those days, and he was a weaver, who, when occasion served, purchased, killed, and cut up a sheep on behalf of his fellow-members. The members of such societies, as has been remarked, had no great ideal before them, and if anyone had a vision he saw it as in a glass darkly. But the yeast of new ideas was fermenting in the closing years of the 18th century, and the successors of the ventures of that period were deeply infected with the new spirit of association.

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-ROCHDALE SOCIETIES IN SCOTLAND.

THE Govan Victualling Society, established in 1777 by the weavers of Govan, ere leviathans for the vasty deep had their birthplace there, is the only one carried on from the 18th to the 20th century of which there is any record. It closed its doors only in 1909, having failed to renew its youth in the same springs whence sprang younger comrades.

The Lennoxtown Victualling Society, founded in 1812, and the Larkhall Victualling Society, founded in 1821, both still flourishing concerns, did not, so far as their records show, aspire to do anything more than advantage their members by providing goods of a good quality and at a low price. In this, their members were no better and no worse than thousands of co-operators are to-day. But minutes and rules often hide the spirit underneath. They do not any more than the face reveal the soul, and it is impossible to think of those early enterprises of the 19th century as mere food-cheapening devices. The age in which they were started and their persistent vitality make that hypothesis untenable. The men of that time, and especially the weavers of Scotland—noted for their reading, for their thinking, and for their love of polemics, both theological and political—could not escape the contagion of the time. The poets of the time had been stirred to a fine frenzy, and the mute inglorious Miltons could not but feel the stirring of the spirit.

The French revolution, deluged in blood, had ended in a military despotism, but it had released forces the impact of which is still felt. Political utopias loomed large before men's minds, and the weavers of the west marched in a forlorn hope to open the door to these delectable regions by means of pikes.

It was a time when it could be said that "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."

The dreams and the visions wherein were depicted a promised land of peace and plenty came from that ever-youthful land, France. The old order had gone, and no new firmly established order had taken its place, hence reconstruction was in the air, and utopias were fashionable. The fashion spread to England, and thence to Scotland, although it must be remembered that some new ideas came straight from France, for there was still a memory of the "auld alliance." The result was that social consciousness was quickened, and the eyes of many not directly suffering were opened to the defects of society.

To remedy those defects became the life work of the most ardent and generous spirits of the time. At the same time it must be confessed that along with these there went not a few drunk with the new wine of reform, and a still smaller number of knaves seeking to profit through the generous simplicity of the others. The result was that the history of the time contains many examples of a perverted idealism which could do nothing practical, and examples also of sound undertakings intended to ameliorate the lot of heavy-laden men betrayed through the fraud of rogues and knaves. Much indeed happened during the first forty years of the century to dishearten the most zealous, and the wonder is that co-operation ever managed to survive such a bitter spring.

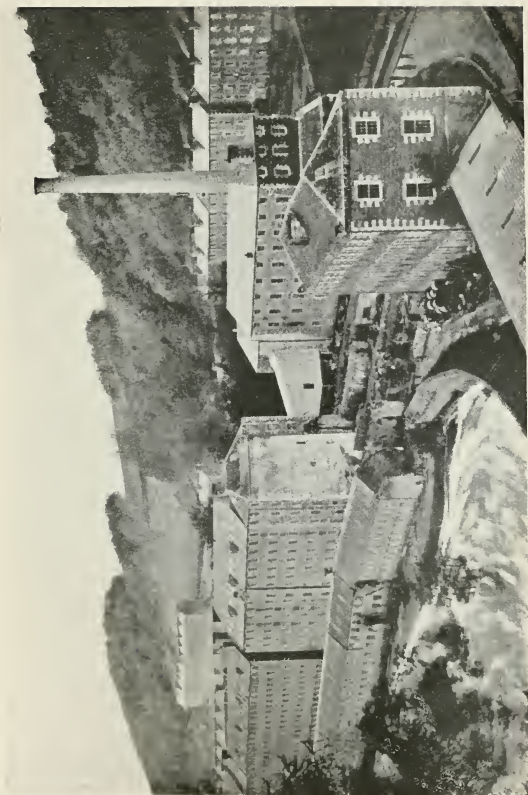
There were two currents in the stream of reform, sometimes intermingling, sometimes drifting apart, but generally flowing in the same direction. One was the political current wherein remedy was sought for the workers by means of political action, and this political action sometimes meant force. The other current directed its energy towards social reform.

Foremost amongst those who held the latter belief was Robert Owen, who has been commonly regarded as the founder of modern co-operation. That Owen's faith and work did an immense service for the co-operative principle cannot be gainsaid, but it is a misunderstanding, both of Owen's outlook and of the co-operation of to-day,

to see in the one the genesis of the other. True it is that both sought the same end, but while the former worked for an impossible immediate communism, the other, more practical, has sought to make itself fit for this communism by following the natural evolution of industry and commerce. At the same time, no history of Scottish co-operation can be complete without some reference to the work of this truly remarkable man, whose greatest social achievements were gained on the banks of the Clyde.

The story of his first visit to Glasgow has in it that touch of romance so often wanting in reform records, and shows how much of chance there is in human destiny. His early walks on the then beautiful banks of the Clyde set him philosophising when he saw bare-legged women "tramping their blankets" in the good old Scottish style. He had come from Manchester on business connected with his firm, and on his return from the banks of the Clyde he happened to meet a Miss Spear, a Manchester acquaintance of his, who had at that moment as her companion a Miss Dale, daughter of the famous David Dale, herd boy, packman, manufacturer, and bank director. "Who never loves that loves not at first sight?" Robert Owen at once fell in love with this comely Scottish lass, and as he knew afterwards, through Miss Spear, his feeling was reciprocated. He had now something to bring him to Glasgow, and to Glasgow he often came, combining business with pleasure. But "this land-louper," as Dale called his future son-in-law, found the father a more difficult subject to captivate than the daughter, and the purchase of the New Lanark mills was as much prompted by love of Dale's daughter as by sound business instinct.

Owen was not a man to allow his heart to run away with his head, and he had a good head, as his business success testified. He set to work to make New Lanark a model community. How he achieved this any man may read, but it is given to few to follow him. His system of providing food for his workers was the truck system—which compelled



THE MILLS AT NEW LANARK.

the worker to deal in his master's shop—with the important difference that the advantage of the consumers was sought and not the direct profit of the master. It was not co-operation, but benevolent and skilful despotism. When this was withdrawn the system inevitably sank back into all the evils of its former estate.

Co-operation teaches men to do things for themselves; Owen did things for them. His work at New Lanark, therefore, while showing the advantages of collective buying, the disadvantages of debt, and the way to a rational method of infant education, had no direct bearing on co-operation as it is known to-day.

Out of Owen's communistic teaching arose the Orbiston settlement at Motherwell, the failure of which shewed that the nobility of an ideal is no guarantee of its success, and that human nature cannot be raised to a higher plane by one great jump. Still, his collectivism bore fruit throughout the United Kingdom, backed as it was by indefatigable propaganda on his part. Perhaps the most effective part of his teaching is to be found in the prominence he attached to environment. To him, environment seemed almost the only determining factor in the character of a man. The later teaching of Charles Darwin emphasised the importance of environment, and these two men may be said to have laid the foundations of social science, the study of which has done much to raise the underworld of civilisation.

Of Robert Owen, we may say that he was one of the leading forces rousing Scotland to the advantages of collective action, and therefore one of the causes that led to the formation of many co-operative societies in the early decades of the 19th century. Of the men who received a portion of the prophet's mantle, none had more influence in stimulating the progress of the movement than Mr. Alexander Campbell, who was largely instrumental in founding and fostering societies in Glasgow and its neighbourhood. He, more than any other man, breathed into the economic societies the life-giving breath of idealism. He

saw in their collective buying and selling the instrument by which the workers could obtain not only economic independence, but that economic control without which political power is comparatively barren. It may be well to note here a festering evil of the time, the pain of which helped to drive men to seek relief through the practice of co-operation. The truck system, whereby the workers were compelled to buy bad food at dear prices, had chained many of the toilers more securely than the feudal system ever did. It was a co-operative system for the benefit of one and the hurt of many, but it had this merit—it suggested the antidote for the bane.

These, among others, were the causes which helped to bring forth numerous societies in the 'twenties and 'thirties wherever industrialism had gathered the people. How enthusiastic some of these co-operative explorers were may be gauged from the fact that two of them walked all the way from Glasgow to Birmingham, to attend one of the early co-operative congresses held there.

It has already been pointed out that there was a strong political reform movement, and while it is true that the strongest protagonists of this movement were also strong in their co-operative faith, the attitude of such a man as Owen could not fail to turn many of them from their political programmes to the practical work of co-operation. Added to his arguments, were the follies of those who believed in obtaining reform by force, the despair of those who saw rogues and charlatans wrecking their finest plans, the judgment of those who saw the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of uniting all the people under one banner. These all turned their steps from what they thought were the arid sands of politics to the more fruitful fields of practical co-operation, under whose flag men of all colours of political opinions, and of all shades of religious thought could gather.

In the late 'twenties the first Glasgow co-operative society came into existence. It owed much to Alexander Campbell, already mentioned, and it bore strong traces of its Owenite origin in its government and methods. The bazaar system,

under which the workers could bring their manufactures into a common centre for exchange, receiving in return the goods they required, was an imitation of Owen's London experiment. The intention was that co-operators should do their own work and so become independent of the outside competitive world. In the cottage stage of industry such a plan might have been possible, but the development of the factory system rendered such a scheme hopeless from its inception. No doubt distrust and dishonesty accelerated its downfall, but from the first its failure was assured. Co-operation had to tread the path of natural evolution. There could be no short cut to the commonweal.

At this period there were founded several societies that are still flourishing. Amongst these was the Bannockburn Society, which came to life in 1830, and, when twenty-nine years of age, formally adopted the Rochdale plan of co-operation, which will be discussed in the next chapter. A year later, in 1831, the Parkhead and Westmuir Economical Society came into being, as was natural in a weaving community. It still survives in spirit, though merged in the body of the Glasgow Eastern Society. The founders of the Parkhead Society were clearly of those who believed in combining the two efforts for reform, political and social. Charleston, in Paisley, and Cadder, in Lanarkshire, were two other societies founded about this time.

While, as was natural, the west of Scotland, owing to its industrial development, was rapidly being filled with co-operative societies, the older industrial portion of Scotland, viz., the east, was likewise giving evidence of its faith in associated effort. Leven Baking Society began its career in 1828, East Forfar in 1830, Arbroath Equitable and the Brechin United Association being established in 1833. One might give a long catalogue of other societies founded in the hopeful 'thirties, but it is hardly necessary to do so in a small book of this size. It will be well, however, to bear in mind that all of these societies had ancient prototypes which, while passing to decay, had not passed to oblivion, but had left behind them some of their spirit to animate their descendants.

CHAPTER V.

THE DIVIDEND SYSTEM IN SCOTLAND.

THE tidal wave of democracy which has swept round the civilised world had its beginning in Scotland. The Scots taught the English an effective method of dealing with Charles I., and their forces at Marston Moor turned the balance in favour of the Parliament. The wave swept westward across the Atlantic, and snapped the bonds fastened around liberty. Back across the Atlantic it foamed, rising to a height in France which destroyed for a time every barrier to freedom. The recoil of that wave beat against the shores of Britain, but its violence had in some measure diminished, although the radical rising in the west of Scotland showed a part of the older policy. By the 'forties the storm had somewhat subsided, although breaking out spasmodically in Chartism and similar agitations.

The revolutionary fever, to change the metaphor, had abated, and it is interesting to note that one of the factors in reducing the political temperature was the spread of co-operative societies, although the only present-day Government which has recognised the healing power of co-operation is the Italian Government.

Burns, Scott, Galt, and subsequent kail-yard writers have all drawn pictures of the Scot, each with varying degrees of force and truth, but no one with the necessary touch of genius has as yet depicted the Scot of the middle part of the 19th century as a founder and director of a co-operative society. He is not a Dr. Hornbrook or a Saturday Night Cottar, still less an Andrew Fairservice. He has something of the shrewdness and real courage of Bailie Nicol Jarvie, to which must be added a passion for polemics, a love of liberty and a zeal for reform.

In the traditions that have gathered round the societies of those days, there is a wealth of new material for novelist and dramatist, for the man with the seeing eye and understanding heart. There is the pathos of the struggle, the humour of the shifts to which the pioneers were compelled to resort, the narrowness of view always characteristic of those in deadly earnest. The Scot was then a different man in some respects from his forbears in the times of Burns and Scott. The industrial changes had profoundly affected him; '32 had come and gone, and he was not saved. Therefore he must save himself. Parliament might be good enough. The time might come when it would do something for him; meanwhile he was going to do something for himself. He was going with his friends and neighbours to make a commonwealth for himself and them. Instead of talking he was going to act, and unconsciously in his acting he took the line of natural development. Of some such stuff were the ideas of the men who were guiding societies in the 'forties when the Rochdale Pioneers introduced the dividend system.

A great deal of nonsense has been talked about the evils of the dividend system by many who should know better. As might be expected, on account of the comparative isolation of societies in the early days, there was considerable variety in the organisation and methods of these forerunners of co-operation. It may be stated that in general their trading surplus was distributed as interest to the holders of the capital. Hence the poorest member received the least benefit from their method of trading. The Rochdale plan sought to safeguard the interests of the three sections of the society, and this it did by allocating from the surplus, interest to capital, dividend to consumer, and bonus to labour. Whatever may be said of the justice of the plan in its practical application, the transparent honesty of its design cannot be denied. As a general rule the number of shares which each member of a society must hold ranges from three to five, of the value of £1 each. On these shares the interest payable is usually 5 per cent.

The Industrial and Provident Societies Act limits the holding of an individual member to two hundred pounds, but not a few societies by their rules still further restrict the holding, so as to prevent their societies becoming mere investment institutions, in which the well-to-do may have safety and profit for their capital. Societies are safeguarded against mere capitalist control by this device, but the equal voting power of all members, independent of capital invested, still further assures the real democratic character of co-operative societies of the Rochdale type.

In earlier days, even as to-day, the necessity of providing £1 or £3 to ensure membership, would hinder those by whom the co-operative society is most required, but in most cases the payment of sixpence at once makes any individual man or woman a full member, provided that at the end of each quarter the individual allows a small portion of his dividend to be deducted and placed to his credit as capital. In this way it is not long before the necessary sum is fully paid. Thus, indeed, have the huge capitals held by co-operative societies been built up.

The important factor was the dividend, and its importance lay in the fact that its adoption meant the rise of an ideal and a practical effort to reach the ideal. Through the dividend the capital was to come, and through the capital was to come democratic control and the realisation of the co-operative commonwealth. The huge trading and industrial co-operative organisations of the 20th century have been made possible only through the dividend. It was a simple device; it seems a mercenary device, and yet it is inspired by the life-giving ideal of co-operation.

"The 'hungry forties,'" recalled with emotion by the few grey-headed veterans who still survive, was not fruitful of many new ventures. Many indeed doubtless went under in those terrible days of famine. It was not until the closing years of the 'fifties that there began a great burst of co-operative activity in Scotland. This coincided with the joint-stock company mania, but brought more beneficial results.

Between 1857 and 1865, as many as 33 societies, many of which survive to-day, were set a-going, but while some have lost their identity through amalgamation a number disappeared after a few years of struggling life.

Amongst the societies founded about this time was the second Glasgow Co-operative Society, and again Owen's disciple, Alexander Campbell, took an active part in its establishment. He claimed, indeed, to have anticipated the Rochdale Pioneers in the invention of the dividend system. It was natural that Glasgow and district should be the centre of this social activity, as the trade and the commerce of the city were increasing by leaps and bounds, and ever-increasing hosts of workers were pouring into its workshops and factories. It is not a little striking to find that in these days, as in the earlier years of the century, weavers were the chief originators of co-operative activity. In whatever village or town a band of weavers was found there, be sure, an attempt, successful or otherwise, has been made to establish a society.

It was in those days that such redoubtable exponents of the movement as Paisley Equitable, St. Cuthbert's, Paisley Provident, Barrhead, Kilmarnock, Dalziel (Motherwell), Dunfermline, Aberdeen Northern, St. Rollox, Glasgow Eastern, Alloa, City of Perth, and a number of other societies were established. It is noteworthy how wide-spread were the districts where co-operation found a footing.

It will be well here to state briefly a few of the reasons that made this period so prolific. The co-operative movement may be "a state within a state," but neither the society nor the individual member can live unto himself. The co-operator is still a member of the body politic, and therefore more or less subject to all the breezes that blow upon his non-co-operative fellows. However much he may desire not to be affected by the outside world its subtle influence has power to move him. As has already been pointed out, this era, so fecund in co-operation, saw one of those wild outbursts of joint-stock activity, the recurring fluctuations of which were so characteristic of the commercial history of

the 19th century. This outburst must have had its repercussion on the working classes, and that in two different ways. First of all, company industrialism meant more and more the congregating of labour in larger and larger masses, and nothing has done so much for workers organisations as the extension of the factory system and the aggregation of masses of men. It is a commonplace of history that freedom and development of thought, as well as freedom of action, have always come from within the group. Countries whose physical conditions tend to promote solitary life may produce poetry, philosophy, and religion, but politics and industry are absent.

Not less effective in stimulating co-operative growth was the example of the joint-stock company. If masters could combine for mutual advantage, why not men? Another factor not to be disregarded was the rapid development of the railway system of Scotland, by which the barriers of distance which isolated communities were removed. The printing press, too, was coming into its own, and the workers began to know of the doings of their fellows. Amongst the journals which did the movement service, none deserves more honourable mention than *Chambers's Miscellany*. An article appeared in this *Miscellany* in 1859 which gave a detailed account of the Rochdale system of co-operation, whereby purchasers secured a share of the trading surplus. This article attracted considerable attention, and was much discussed at the summer schools of the time.

These summer schools were merely favourite resorts of thoughtful men anxious to find a way out of darkest Scotland. In glen and grove, by stream and spring, such coteries met in the warm days of summer, and there they debated the nature of God and of man. The amelioration of the economic condition of man was not neglected by these theologians; hence the article referred to was eagerly discussed, and several societies were the fruits of those discussions. It also directed the attention of those who had already formed societies to the advantages of the dividend system, and soon all or nearly all adopted the Lancashire model.



AN OLD-TIME CO-OPERATIVE SUMMER SCHOOL

Another important factor was the co-operative propaganda, having its home in England, which sought the extension of co-operative principles in a truly missionary spirit, through newspaper, platform, and congress. But this part of our subject will come more fittingly in the chapter which deals with the educational side of co-operation.

CHAPTER VI.

ST. CUTHBERT'S CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION LIMITED.

IN reading the records of the societies which had their origin about the middle of the 19th century, one finds a sameness in the narrative of their trials and triumphs, their failures and successes. That is not to say that the history of any one of them is monotonous. One who can perceive something of what lies behind the array of arid facts and figures contained in the old minute books will find in the most prosaic of them tragedy and comedy walking hand in hand. He will find a villain as well as a hero, and even a heroine, as in the case of Miss Frier, of St. Cuthbert's, who died of smallpox contracted in the discharge of her duties. The very earnestness with which many of the committees discharged their multifarious duties provokes a tear as well as a smile. The readiness with which they undertook duties hitherto unknown to them showed courage if not discretion. It was the day of small things entered into largely. The pioneers had a big heart for little duties, and that was in no small degree the secret of their success. It must be confessed that the vitality of the movement lay rather with individuals than with groups. Noble principles have no existence apart from personal character, and so the kinetic energy that drove these co-operative ships into the ocean trades of commerce came from the devoted few on whom the many could rely. It is no small part of the glory of the movement that it has multiplied and is still multiplying the few into the many.

We have said that there is a sameness about these records, and therefore, to tell the story of one is to tell the story of almost all. It would be an invidious task to select one to illustrate its contemporaries, were it not that in St.



AN EARLY HOME OF ST. CUTHBERT'S SOCIETY, EDINBURGH.

Cuthbert's Association we have one which overtops all the others in size, if not in other qualities.

Like so many societies, the founders of the premier society of Scotland cultivated soil fertilised by the mould of bygone institutions of a similar sort. They had also industries close at hand employing groups of men. Under such circumstances the pioneers of St. Cuthbert's met in July, 1859, in the house of Adam Walker, Grove Street, Edinburgh, and agreed to form a co-operative society. By September of the same year fifty members had been enrolled and a committee elected, and on the 4th November the first shop was opened. At first the sales were only £10 per week, and the difficulties of the directors were increased by friction arising from the wife of the first salesman attending to her husband's duties. But these founders were men of resource, and turn and turn about they filled the position of salesman until a fully qualified salesman could be found. As book-keepers their success was not so great. At the end of the first quarter a dividend of 1s. 1d. was declared and paid. But alas, shortly afterwards, it was discovered that instead of a surplus of £13 there was actually a loss of £10. The dividend had been paid and the discovery was made too late. Thus, handicapped by the loss of two casks of butter, for the mistake had arisen through placing the figures relating to these casks in the wrong column, the directors held doggedly on, going out into the highways and byeways of their districts to bring in the heedless and the sceptical.

By the end of the first year the membership had grown to 84, and the sales for the year were £1,086. 13s. 7d. It was then that the credit system, which has given so much trouble to many societies, was introduced, members being allowed credit to the extent of 10s. per £ of their share capital. This action seriously crippled the efforts of the directors, and at first it looked as if the society was going to collapse, no dividend having been paid excepting that paid by mistake at the end of the first quarter. By reducing the value of the £1 share to 16s., and by indefatigable canvassing,

its prospects began to appear more hopeful, and at the end of the seventh quarter a dividend of $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the £ on purchases was declared. The next dividend was $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £, the next $9\frac{1}{4}$ d., and at the end of three years the dividend had risen to $10\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the £.

In 1863, the first branch was established at Stockbridge. It had a short life, as it was closed in 1866, and was then taken over by a new society, the Northern District Co-operative Society Limited, which, after a separate existence of thirty-four years, rejoined the association.

By 1863, it had begun to dawn on the committee of St. Cuthbert's, as well as the committees of neighbouring societies, that their capacity was not co-extensive with their goodwill, and that in purchasing goods directors were not so successful as their zeal deserved, that failure being due partly to want of skill and partly to want of co-operation among the societies. In fact, they were beginning to find out how advantageous a co-operative wholesale society would be. Thus it was that there was formed the Edinburgh Central Co-operative Committee, the parent of the present East of Scotland Co-operative Conference Association. Six societies were represented in this committee, the chief object of which was the appointment of an experienced buyer to buy for the combined societies.

The buyer was never appointed, but certain members of the committee did for a time act as buyers. Ultimately the committee was dissolved, and shortly after the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society took up the work which the committee was designed to do.

The metallic check system which was formerly so much in vogue was adopted by St. Cuthbert's in 1864. When making purchases a customer was supplied with metallic checks showing the money value of the purchase made. At the end of the quarter the checks, which showed his total purchases, were returned to the society by the member, who received in exchange the amount of dividend payable on such purchases. The checks, therefore, came to have a distinct

money value, varying, of course, according to the rate per pound payable in dividend. Members in want of money found others quite willing to buy these metallic checks long before quarter day. Such buyers, of course, safeguarded their own interests by offering much less than the real value in order to protect themselves against any possible fall in the rate of dividend. Indeed, in some towns, the buying of these metallic checks became quite a business and was publicly advertised. The practice may not yet be extinct. Despite the gross irregularities made possible by the system, and in a measure prompted by the system, the metallic checks were used in St. Cuthbert's until 1907, when the directors introduced the more business-like arrangement of having the members identified by having their name and share number entered on all receipts.

The first annual soiree in connection with the society was held in December, 1864, and was typical of many subsequent co-operative socials held in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Much of the work was done by the committee and the employees. The "pokes" were filled by them, the hall was cleaned by them, the forms were set by them, and much of the speechifying was done by them. If variety be the spice of life, the co-operative committeeman of those days certainly had that spice!

Tea-tasting was one of the recognised duties of the committee when the wholesale society was not, and many a worthy man swallowed many of the "cups that cheer," but do not inebriate, in the path of duty. The story is told of one manager who cured his committee of their passion for tea. There were twelve men and ten tea-pots, all duly numbered. Each man had his share from each of the ten tea-pots, and as the amber liquid rolled down the several gullets the impression produced thereon was duly recorded in black and white. When the secretary collected the paper he had a result as difficult to determine as a proportional representation election result, so many were the permutations and combinations of opinions. After an hour spent in trying

to determine the order of preference, the manager came into the room and blandly announced to the committee that although there were ten tea-pots there was only one kind of tea !

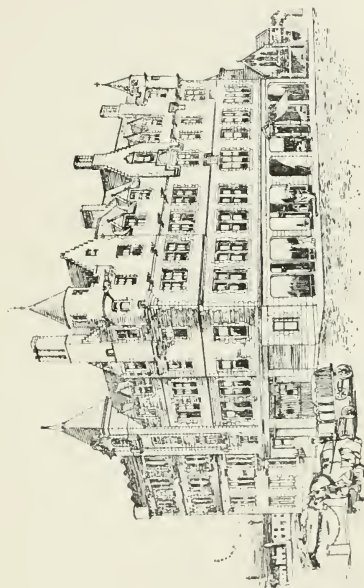
The earliest of the productive efforts made by St. Cuthbert's was the starting of its bakery department. In the early days of the society the members were supplied, first by private traders, and then by the Edinburgh Bread Society, which ultimately fell on evil days and perished.

As in other departments, the society's chief trials arose through the selection of foremen, more than one being dismissed for incompetence, negligence, or dishonesty. How wisely they selected and treated their bakers may be finally judged from one incident in the history of the baking department. New arrangements had to be made to meet certain demands of the Bakers' Union. The society asked time to complete those arrangements before making the new shifts. This the Union had permitted private traders to do, but they refused a similar concession to the co-operative society, and the bakers working for St. Cuthbert's were called out on strike. Only two obeyed the call, and later on we find the officials of the Union asking the good services of the directors to persuade their men to rejoin the Union.

By this time the young society had got over its teething troubles, so to speak, and it now entered upon an era of expansion, opening new departments, new branches, and building new premises ; the appointment of Mr. Alexander Wallace as manager doing not a little to promote efficiency and economy.

It was in 1870 that the half-holiday movement was set a-going, but it was some time after that before it was fully established. This little fact, perhaps unimportant in itself, serves to show the trend of thought amongst co-operators, and how far ahead in time they were of the half-holiday for shopkeepers as by law established.

The trading success of the society was not without its influence on the development of the higher phases of co-opera-



THE CENTRAL PREMISES OF THE ST. CUTHBERT'S SOCIETY

tive activity. Co-operative publications, *e.g.*, the *Scottish Co-operator* and the *Co-operative News*, were distributed amongst the members, and for six months the society had a journal of its own, *viz.*, *The Record*. The early demise of this paper was due to internal troubles. The editorial staff had criticised the work of the directors more candidly than tactfully, and while one section thought this criticism beneficial, another thought it harmful to the society.

Edinburgh is a city whose main industry is said to be education and so it is not to be wondered at that the educational committee of St. Cuthbert's was energetic and progressive. We find that the work carried out by that committee since its inception has done much, not only to build up a powerful society, but, what is more important still, also to broaden and deepen the co-operative spirit in the capital of Scotland. Co-operative education committees owe their origin to the Rochdale Pioneers, who set aside 2½ per cent of their trading surplus for the education of their members. Few of the Scottish societies have risen to this height of generosity, one per cent being commonly allocated. To spend this fund wisely is the business of the education committee, who are elected, as the directors are elected, in open meeting.

Few societies are without an education fund, but by many this fund is administered by the management committee, and not by a special education committee.

It may be mentioned here that originally the directors were taken in order from the members' roll, refusal to serve involving the payment of a fine. This system was intended to give every member "a turn," and had behind it the same object as that rule which in some societies limits the possible term of office to three or four years, *viz.*, the making of the government of a society as democratic as possible, by giving everyone a chance of becoming a director.

A question that was discussed in St. Cuthbert's in 1875 was whether the shares of the association should be transferable or withdrawable shares, and the vote decided the question in favour of withdrawable shares. As Sir Roger de

Coverley once sagely remarked, there is much to be said on both sides. Transferable shares cannot be realised until someone has been found willing to purchase them, and this someone must be approved by the society. The effect of such an arrangement is that capital cannot be hastily withdrawn, and so the financial position of the society is all the stronger on that account. On the other hand, owing to modern conditions, some of the workers have to be migratory, and they will naturally refuse to invest their money when it cannot be readily withdrawn. Some societies with transferable shares meet the difficulty by making provision for the extinction of the shares of those removing—withdrawable shares can be withdrawn only after due notice—but the general practice is to pay the amount before the expiration of the notice. A run on a society with a large capital sunk in land, buildings, and fittings, and with only the protection of the usual notice, might spell disaster.

Slowly but surely the tentacles of the association were spread over Edinburgh and the surrounding districts, and as transport became more effective the lanes of traffic between the neighbouring societies and their members began to cross and recross one another. It was then that the question of amalgamation began to crop up. The most unthinking co-operator could see quite clearly that this overlapping meant competition, the very negation of co-operation, a competition as economically unsound as that between private traders. Boundary lines between the various societies were proposed and very wisely rejected, for nowhere have such lines been more than a palliative for an undoubted evil. In 1900, the Edinburgh Northern Society rejoined the parent body which it had left in 1866, and, later, Norton Park, the only other surviving society in Edinburgh, joined its big neighbour. Now there is only one co-operative society in Edinburgh.

It is the habit in treating of most mundane affairs to mark progress and awaken wonder by an array of figures, showing from decade to decade the increase in member-

ship, in capital, in sales, &c., and no society in Scotland could beat St. Cuthbert's Association in such a display ; but its true value and greatest glory may be found in that it attracted to and kept in its service men like the late Mr. Lochhead and Sir William Maxwell.

CHAPTER VII.

CO-OPERATION FOR PRODUCTION IN SCOTLAND.

IT would be a great mistake to assume that productive co-operation was of later birth than distributive, for such is not the case. Reformers and idealists seeking for a new earth found a road thither, as they thought, in providing workers with their own work. Some of them thought to bring back the golden age when every man was his own employer, forgetting, or rather ignoring, the changed and changing conditions of their time. The story has a tragedy of its own, which tells of well-meaning idealists vainly striving to turn back the hands of the clock.

The Orbiston experiment in communism, the bazaar experiment of the Christian Socialists, and the similar experiment of the first Glasgow society, as well as the preamble of the Rochdale Pioneers' proclamation, all show that self-employment and, therefore, production, was the chief end in view. The disastrous failures of most of these experiments made many give up hope, while they drove others to the safer and easier form of distributive co-operation. Amongst the purely productive societies that successfully weathered the gales of adversity, pride of place must be given to the Paisley Manufacturing Society, which was established in 1862. While, of course, credit should be given to those pioneers of production for their skill in steering their good ship safely through all the shoals which beset the beginning of the voyage, credit must not be withheld from those other pilots charting elsewhere in unknown waters, although shipwreck was their lot. Some were not less skilful, not less courageous ; but circumstances were against them.

Some of the happy success which attended the Paisley venture was undoubtedly due to the place itself. The town of Paisley—that town of poets and practical folks—was small enough for a man to know his neighbour. Much of the success attending village societies has been due to that condition; and the trade undertaken by the new society was, so to speak, indigenous to the place. The committee knew their men and they knew their business. There was no “high flying” about their methods. The secretary’s house at 25, Cotton Street, was office, committee-room, and warehouse, a circumstance testifying to many things and not least to the enthusiasm and long suffering of the secretary’s wife. In three years’ time their annual turnover had reached the respectable total of £1,047, while the capital had grown to £818. By 1918 the capital—share and loan—had grown to £177,322, and the annual sales to £389,579.

A cursory glance at the old “rules for the government of the Paisley Co-operative Manufacturing Society,” which were registered in 1863, might tempt the reader to think that the only thing co-operative about the enterprise was the name, and that it was merely a resultant of that joint-stock fever which spread over the land in the ‘fifties and ‘sixties of the nineteenth century. However much it may have owed to that epidemic, there can be no doubt that it owed more to the passing of the improved Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1862.

The “objects” rule makes the co-operative character of the society quite clear. “To improve the social and domestic conditions of its members, and encourage amongst them a spirit of economy,” by “carrying on in common the trades of cotton, silk, and woollen manufacturing,” was the design of the handloom weavers and shoemakers who were its originators. The first president’s name is given as James Paton, evidently a worthy forerunner of John Paton, the able and pawky secretary of to-day. Hugh Tannahill was the treasurer, and one is tempted to wonder

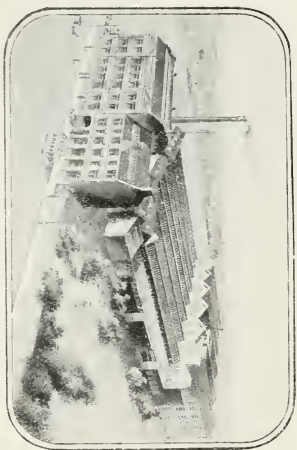
if he was any relative of Paisley's sweetest song writer of hapless fame.

Each member was required to hold not less than five and not more than 200 shares of the value of 20s. each. All of these shares were transferable with the consent of the committee, provision being made for arbitration to decide the value of the shares should the transferee be refused by the committee. To enable the very poorest to join, shares could be paid up at not less than twopence per week per share. From the very first, advantage was taken of the power, given to societies by the Act of 1862, of admitting as shareholders other co-operative societies, or joint-stock companies. The rules provided that such shares were to be allocated in lots of forty according to the number permitted by members, and that for each lot of forty shares the shareholding society should have a representative at the meetings of the P.C.M.S. However, it was not until 1870 that advantage was taken of this particular rule. In that year, therefore, the institution somewhat changed its character, from a kind of co-operative workshop to that of a co-operative federation.

Two years before that, in 1868, the Rochdale plan of sharing profits with purchasers had been introduced, and a year later a bonus was given to all workers. In those early times the society had more travellers on the road than it has to-day, for every member of the committee then set off on Saturday afternoons, with his pack on his back, each to his appointed district. Only railway fare was allowed, or indeed claimed, so that it was veritably a labour of love, but the success of the undertaking proved that it was not "love's labour lost."

For the first seven years it was very uphill work, as will be noted from the sales of 1870, which amounted to £2,463 only, and yet that figure was then regarded as exceedingly promising, so much so that the committee began to cast about for new premises.

It was not until 1873 that the committee purchased a



COLINSLEE FACTORY,
PAISLEY CO-OPERATIVE MANUFACTURING SOCIETY LIMITED.

property at 114, Causeyside Street, for £2,140. Since that time extensive additions have been made, and the shops and show-rooms there now are among the most handsome to be found in Paisley.

In 1889 a site for a factory was purchased at Colinslee, on the outskirts of Paisley, and the factory began work in 1890. Subsequent additions to the original factory have been made from time to time, the last, in 1914, costing £7,500. The condition of the workers, both hygienic and economic, has been ever in the forefront, as in other co-operative societies, with the result that the factories are in as good a sanitary condition as possible; the hours are shorter, and the wages better than in similar privately-owned factories elsewhere. The employees, by their attendance at the business meetings of the society as shareholders, show how keen an interest they take in their own work and how profoundly they can affect the management for their own good.

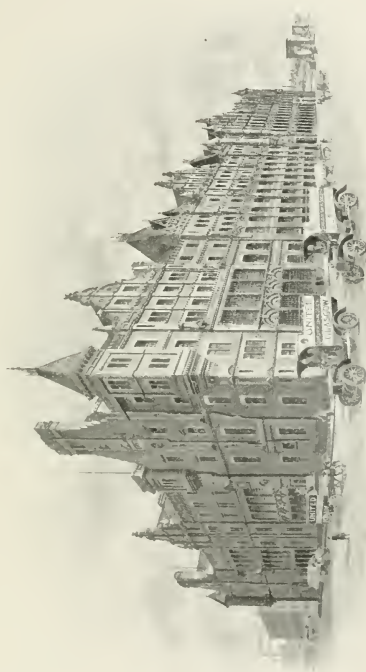
While in this example we have a purely productive society growing into a federation, the process has generally been otherwise. The earliest attempts at real co-operative production are to be found in the baking trade. Where several distributive societies were in close proximity it was natural that they should combine for the purpose of providing bread for the members of all. Hence arose such successful federations as the Bainsford and Grahamston Baking Society in 1861, and the huge United Co-operative Baking Society, Glasgow, in 1869.

The story of the early struggles of this now world-famous bakery is indicative of the faith and the zeal of its founders. Sir William Maxwell tells of the pilgrimage of the committee to the door of a public house to catch a baker. They picketed that public house till 11 o'clock sent him forth, along with his old master, who had contrived to re-engage him. The unlucky committee had to renew their search on a Sunday, but there was scriptural warrant for that work, as it was a question of bread. One wonders

what would have been the rule if the principles of some of the committee had permitted them to go into the public house and enter into competition with the old master. How would that fine old stalwart, Mr. Daniel Gerrard, late chairman of the U.C.B.S. have tackled such a situation ?

The idea of forming a baking federation came from the St. Rollox Society, which, acting under the influence of the federal idea, made so prominent at that time by the formation of the wholesale society, convened a meeting of the distributive societies in and around Glasgow, at which Mr. Gabriel Thomson read a paper on the advantages of federation.

The result of this meeting was the formation of the United Co-operative Baking Society. Eight societies subscribed for shares, viz., Anderston, Barrhead, Cathcart, Johnstone, Lennoxton, Motherwell, St. Rollox, and Thornliebank. Of these, St. George now represents the Anderston Society, while Barrhead, Johnstone, Lennoxton, and Motherwell now have flourishing bakeries of their own, although they still remain members of the Federation for purchasing biscuits and fancy bread. The first year's trade showed a surplus of £23. 3s. 1d., while that of 1918 showed £70,000, an increase which shows some measure of its success. Its early difficulties with bakers and about premises soon disappeared, but left it with a problem which troubles all baking federations, viz., the tendency of prosperous members to hive off and set up bakeries of their own. Theoretically, no one can object to this tendency, when it is the result of successful development, if it is economically beneficial, but clearly such hiving off should be done after such preparation as will save the parent body from unnecessary loss. In most cases the societies that set up bakeries of their own did so only after the establishment of a branch in their district had been refused. At that time it was thought that concentration for production would prove most advantageous. It has been found, however, that in practice the cost of carriage beyond a 10 or 12 mile radius soon destroys all the advantage of concentration. In consequence, the Federation has some-



CENTRAL PREMISES, UNITED CO-OPERATIVE BAKING SOCIETY, GLASGOW.

what changed its policy, and has established branches in Clydebank, and even as far away as Belfast.

While the general principles which govern the form of the constitution of a federation remain much the same in every case, there are often certain variations due to local and other causes.

In the United Co-operative Baking Society, there are three classes of societies in membership :—(1) Societies dealing in bread and all its other productions ; (2) Societies dealing in biscuits only ; most of these societies have bakeries of their own ; (3) The employees' society, called the Bonus Investment Society.

In the first class there are 71 societies, each holding a £1 share for every one of their individual members. These societies hold 131,796 shares, or 56 per cent of the total number.

In the second class there are 139 societies, and they secure all the rights and privileges of members by subscribing for 50 shares of the value of £1 each, irrespective of the number of individual members that may be on their roll. The directors have the power to give a greater holding to such societies if it should be desired. The societies in this class hold 78,561 shares, or 34 per cent of the total share capital.

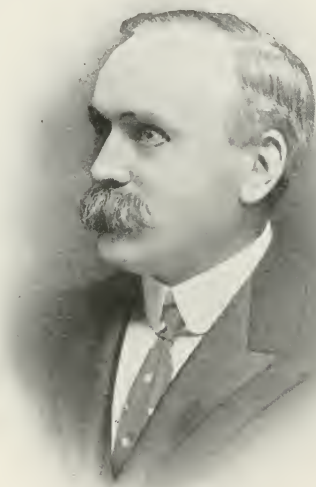
The employees constitute the third class of shareholder. They are associated together in what is known as the Bonus Investment Society, formed about 1892. From the outset the Federation shared its surplus with its employees, but about the year mentioned above the employees were invited to associate in the Bonus Investment Society, by depositing a part or the whole of their share of the surplus in this society. The society is entitled to hold 100 £1 shares for each employee enrolled. In 1919 there were 1,400 employees, and of these 800 were members of the Investment Society, and their holding was 24,000, or over 10 per cent of the total share capital. Roughly speaking, the share capital belonging to each employee amounts to about £170.

The number of delegates which each society may appoint is determined by the amount of its purchases. The total purchases for the quarter are divided by 50, which is the maximum number of votes any society may have. Thus a society which has made the largest purchases during the quarter, say £50,000, will give the quota £1,000 for each vote, and thus it will have the right to send 50 delegates by virtue of its purchases, and one delegate as a member. A society which has purchased to the extent of £750 only during the quarter will still have the right to appoint one delegate for its purchases, and one as a member of the Federation.

The committee of management consists of president, secretary, and ten members. The two former are nominated and voted for as individuals, but in the case of the ten members, societies are nominated and voted for by the delegates. The successful societies thereafter select, each in its own way, the individual who shall represent them on the committee. Such representatives retire in rotation after two years of service, but while some societies change their representative after two or four years, others retain their representatives for a much longer period. Like other members, the Bonus Investment Society may have a representative on the committee, but as yet it has not succeeded in having one elected.

During its fifty years of working the Federation has declared dividends amounting in the aggregate to $1\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds. Its lands and buildings have cost £319,000, and are now written down to £207,000. The original value of its fixed stock, live stock, and machinery, which includes a fleet of 74 motor vehicles, was £159,000, and all of this has been written off. About £2,000 is voted annually by the society for charitable and educational purposes.

One form of educational activity has been the sending of employees, representative of all departments and selected by popular vote, to visit places of interest, the society allowing these representatives time off and paying their expenses.



MR. ROBERT STEWART, J.P.

(CHAIRMAN, SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED.

THE passing of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1852, and that of 1862—which has since been amended several times—was not so much a cause as a result of co-operative activity. But while this is true, it is also true that the passing of these Acts—the Magna Charta of distributive and productive co-operation—made the path of co-operative societies much easier. The first phase of activity, that of productive colonies, such as Orbiston in Scotland and Ralahine in Ireland, had ended in failure. The next phase—at least in England—the establishment of productive workshops, had languished. Then came the Rochdale movement, hampered by many legal disabilities, some of which the Act of 1852 swept away. Societies then for the first time obtained legal protection for their funds and property, and secured legal validity for their rules. By the passing of the Act of 1862 societies received the right to take up shares in other societies, and thus the formation of a union of retail societies was made legally possible.

Under the stimulating ardour of the co-operative spirit of the 'sixties, which swept over industrial Britain, and the example south of the Tweed, there was launched the greatest of the co-operative ships in Scotland, the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. The year of its jubilee saw the issue of its history written by the pen of a co-operative pressman, and those who wish to know in detail the story of that triumphant voyage, with its hazards and its happenings, will find it interestingly told in that volume. In its pages will be found a story of success and failure, but ever the balance is on the right side. Through its various vicissitudes the members of the Federation have come close and

closer together, until they have been so firmly knit that certain men have seen a vision of one distributive and wholesale society, covering with its operations the length and breadth of Scotland.

Apart from the various influences to which reference has already been made, which fanned the vital spark of wholesale co-operation into a vigorous flame, the immediate inspiration is to be found in the pages of the original *Scottish Co-operator*. Through letters to the editor and through editorials written in that fountain of co-operation, Barrhead, the scheme was pressed upon the attention of the societies of Scotland. Even the moribund second Glasgow Society lent a hand, and after several conferences in Glasgow—forerunners of the conference associations of Scotland—and a conference in Edinburgh, the Wholesale Society was set a-going on the 8th September, 1868.

To show that it was no mere capitalist concern that was then brought into being, the rules provided for the gradual paying up of capital by surpluses and interest, so that the poorest society could join. The shares are now of the value of 20s., and every society must take up not less than one share for each of its members. The shares are not now withdrawable, but are transferable, that is with the consent of the committee. No individual who is not an employee, can hold shares in the society. Employees holding shares must be over 21 years of age. Each must not hold less than five and not more than fifty shares. Each society has one vote in virtue of membership, and one additional vote for the first one thousand five hundred pounds worth of goods purchased, and one other additional vote for every complete three thousand pounds worth of purchases from the society thereafter. Shareholding employees are organised into an association, which has the right to send one delegate to the quarterly meetings and one additional delegate for every one hundred and fifty members of the association.

Formerly, a bonus on wages was paid to all employees, but this was abolished in February, 1915, when all workers

in the employment of the society at December, 1914, were granted a bonus equivalent of 8d. per £ on the wage earned by them at that date. This equivalent was forfeited by any employee who left and afterwards rejoined the service. No worker joining the service after December, 1914, is entitled to this bonus equivalent.

At the preliminary conferences forty societies were represented, and these for the most part linked themselves with the new venture. While there was much enthusiasm, the canny character of the Scot was illustrated in the provision of withdrawable capital, a condition which for many years impeded the expansion of the society.

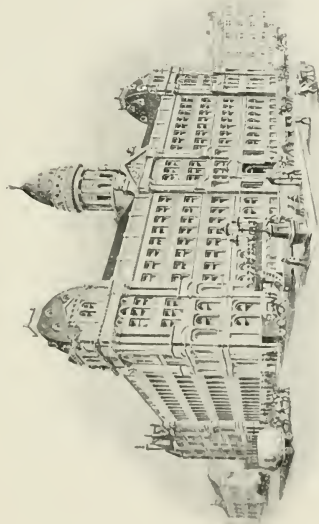
So successful were the results of the first two or three quarters' operations that the spirit of enterprise was thoroughly aroused, and a multitude of other co-operative projects were brought forward. Fortunately the good sense of co-operators prevented many of them from becoming more than projects, otherwise the infant Wholesale might have been swept away in a general ruin. As it was, three other co-operative businesses were started at that time, the subsequent failure of which did much to frighten the timid, and might have done more to cripple the Wholesale had it not been for the courage and loyalty of the members and the wisdom of its directors. An overdraft to a co-operative ironworks and the failure of some societies involved the Wholesale in losses, which measured by its capital were very heavy.

Still the Wholesale continued to grow. In 1872, ground was bought in Paisley Road, Kingston, Glasgow, and in the following year the new buildings erected thereon were formally opened amidst great rejoicing. By 1881 branches of the Wholesale had been opened in Leith, Kilmarnock, and Dundee. It was in this year that the first real productive department was initiated. Appropriately enough, the trade selected was that worst paid at the time, viz., shirt making. Tom Hood's "Song of the Shirt" had not yet aroused the social conscience to a realisation of its sin in that con-

nection. Co-operators, animated by the true spirit of the movement, instead of asking Parliament or some other body to do something for the sweated shirt makers, resolved to do something themselves. They resolved to open a shirt factory, which would be hygienic, and in which the workers would have shorter hours and better wages than workers employed by any private firm. At the time the scheme looked utopian, but from the first success was assured. Co-operators practised what so many had merely preached.

The Society continued to grow, and by 1882 its annual sales had reached the handsome total of £1,100,588; a most surprising result when the fluid state of the capital and the ever-changing directorate are considered. The democratic love of giving everybody a turn as a director made a continuous policy almost impossible, and naturally tended to shift the burden of management on to the permanent staff. Since that time things have changed, the directors now practically hold their position for life, although they must seek re-election every two years. Instead of their spending only a part of their time in the work as formerly, their whole time is now devoted to it. While there is no definite rule fixing district representation, in practice directors are chosen from the various conference districts of Scotland.

Productive activity was now in full swing, and with reason, too, for the wholesale directors were in the fortunate position of knowing the character of the goods in demand before they started any new business. Hence production was no mere speculation on their part. The greatest advance was made with the purchase, in 1886, of the Shieldhall estate, lying near the Glasgow and Renfrew road, and intermediate between those towns. Probably the first intention of the directors was to form a kind of garden city, where factories and dwelling houses should be hygienically and artistically arranged. If that were the design it has not been realised, and this failure has been due to the extraordinarily rapid development of various productive departments. Factory has followed factory in quick succession. Tailoring, boot-



CENTRAL WAREHOUSE.

SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LIMITED, MORRISON
STREET, GLASGOW.

making, cabinet-making, hosiery, jam-making, printing and allied industries, confectionery and tobacco factories, have all found a home at Shieldhall. When the manufacture of some of these goods, *e.g.*, boots and furniture, was started, only the plainest articles were produced, but now the various warehouses and show-rooms of the Wholesale Society exhibit articles suitable for either cottage or castle. In this way one may trace here the gradual rise of the working classes of Scotland, as well as the extension of the movement from what are termed the lower classes to the middle classes.

But the productive activities of the Wholesale have not been confined to Shieldhall. Soap, flour, margarine, wool, and jute have found other centres. In Grangemouth, on the Forth, have been set factories for the manufacture of soaps, which can compete with the products of the most famous manufacturers in Great Britain. The Chancelot Flour Mill is the oldest of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society's mills, and it is said to be one of the most handsome to be found, either north or south of the Tweed. The Regent Flour Mill, on the river Kelvin, a tributary of the Clyde, is one of the most recent acquisitions. Appropriately, it has now come into the hands of the people, for, as its name implies, the original mill was the gift of the "Good Regent," Regent Moray, to the craftsmen of Glasgow, for their services in helping to defeat Mary, Queen of Scots, at Langside.

Not only does the Wholesale carry on a huge tailoring business, but it weaves the cloth; nay, more, it spins the wool. Only the sheep and the land are required to make it entirely independent. The War Office welcomed its aid when it had to clothe the millions of men who sprang to arms at the call of their country. But the land and sheep are coming, and already the Wholesale, as well as many of the Scottish retail societies, has either purchased or leased large farms. In Wigtownshire, there are the Blandnock Creamery and Margarine Factory. In Ireland, there are creameries, piggeries, and bacon-curing factories. A fish-curing station at Aberdeen, points to a further develop-

ment in the near future, when the Society will have its own fleet of trawlers.

In the appendix will be found, along with other statistical matter, a detailed note of the society's progress. Next in importance to its own advances were the joint enterprises of the Scottish and English wholesale societies. From the very first the relations between these brother societies had been exceedingly cordial, and the pioneers of the Scottish society owed much to the experienced advice that was freely given by the members of the elder brother. Amongst those joint enterprises may be mentioned the tea and coffee businesses, for these led to the purchase of estates in Ceylon and elsewhere furth of Scotland.

Thus were the tentacles of co-operation stretched from the rosy East to the golden West, and thus there also came a new outlook for co-operators. Co-operation began to lose its narrow nationalism and seek the wider internationalism. How this internationalism will solve the problems of co-operators dealing with those peoples amongst whom their factories have been established, and whose standard of civilisation is so different, and in some cases so much lower than our own, is left for the future to tell. It will require all the faith, all the loyalty, and all the wisdom of the past, with the larger vision of the future, to solve it. Co-operation can solve it, for its faith is not without works ; it practises even better than it preaches.

That the progress of this truly marvellous organisation may be seen at a glance, a few facts, figures, and dates relating to the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society are given in an appendix to this volume.



MR JAMES ALLAN

(EX CHAIRMAN, SCOTTISH SECTIONAL BOARD OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION).

CHAPTER IX.

THE SCOTTISH SECTION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

AS has been stated in a previous chapter, co-operators have always been distinguished as practical people, as people who prefer to practise rather than to preach. This may partly account for the greater glory that surrounds a Wholesale director than that which enfolds a member of the Scottish Section. The members of the Sectional Board expound the principles and methods of co-operation; they do not conduct a successful society. They form the intelligence department of the co-operative army, and everybody knows that in an ordinary army it is the combatant branch which, while it may get the knocks, receives all the glory.

Congresses—no doubt the word was made popular through the American institution—have always been highly regarded by co-operators. Almost before the movement could be said to exist, proleptic co-operators were holding congresses in London, Birmingham, Manchester, and other places. To some of these meetings devotees tramped from the bleak north to sit at the feet of their brethren of the south, and learn from them the words of wisdom which would help them to cherish the slender saplings still threatened by the chill blasts of ignorance and poverty.

It was not until 1869 that these congresses, composed of representatives from the more progressive societies, became more than mere fitful gatherings brought together by the enthusiasm of the moment. At the meeting held in that year the importance of production, if co-operators were to realise their ideals, was insisted upon. A committee was appointed from that meeting with the object of stimulating the extension of co-operative distribution, so that productive

works might the more easily follow. On that committee were two representatives from Scotland, viz., Mr. James Barrowman, Glasgow, and Mr. J. T. McInnes, Barrhead. These two were thus the pioneers of the Scottish Section. To finance this committee a levy of one penny per member per quarter was made on the societies represented. The committee was provided with a secretary and a law clerk, whose business it was to give advice on legal and trading matters to all societies members of the congress. The legal side of the Co-operative Union has been one of its most important developments, and the average member of a society is little aware what a big business the legal department is and how profitable it has been to the movement. Prevention is always better than cure, and the skilled legal advice always at the disposal of societies has saved many a one from serious financial loss, and even from bankruptcy.

The men of 1869 knew by sad experience the many pitfalls which the law can dig, and the many barriers it can erect to check any advance. The various Industrial and Provident Societies Acts of 1846, 1852, and 1862, had bit by bit removed the stumbling blocks, but much remained to be done at that day, and it is no exaggeration to say that the subsequent amendments and additions to these Acts were due to the influence and knowledge of the Co-operative Union born in 1869.

It was not until 1873 that the United Kingdom was mapped out into sectional districts, and Scotland then formed one district in this educational federation. In 1889, the Co-operative Union was registered as a society under the Act, so that it could carry on trade and have a legal standing. Under the sectional arrangement named above Scotland elected ten members to the Central Board, which was composed of members similarly elected from all the sections.

The Central Board meet twice a year, once before the annual congress, to prepare a report, and once after that meeting. From the Central Board an executive, the United Board is elected, consisting of fifteen members drawn from all

the sections and meeting generally in Manchester, which has always been the headquarters of the Union. From the United Board a number of sub-committees are formed to carry out the detailed work. Amongst these are the Office and Finance Committees, whose names indicate their duties, and the Central Education Committee, which, however, is reinforced by representatives from other co-operative organisations. As the work of the Union has developed additional committees have been formed; for example, the Publications Committee, which is developing rapidly a big publishing business; the Parliamentary Committee, which watches current legislation in the interests of the movement; and the Parliamentary Representation Committee,* which has taken up a new branch of work created by the decision of the Swansea Congress to secure direct Parliamentary representation for co-operators.

This brief statement serves to show how enormously the work of the Co-operative Union has developed. The staff continues to grow from year to year, and already Holyoake House, built by co-operative subscriptions to house adequately the intelligence department of co-operation, is becoming too small to contain all its departments. More than any other society in the movement, the Union seeks to give new life and force to co-operative ideals. It seeks to safeguard the present and explore the future; to substitute knowledge for ignorance, zeal for apathy.

The ten members of the Scottish Sectional Board are elected annually by all the Scottish societies, members of the Union. Scottish societies may vote for ten candidates or less, as they decide, and the number of votes which they may give to each candidate is, like the subscription to the Union, in direct proportion to the number of members in the society. While Scotland is divided into ten conference districts, it does not follow that each conference has a representative on the sectional board. So far as the rules are concerned, the members of the section might all be elected from one area.

* Now (1919) the Co-operative Party.

To the members of the Scottish Sectional Board is entrusted the supervision of the co-operative movement in Scotland. Their power is limited but little by the Central Board, save in the matter of finance.

Before there was a Central Board or Co-operative Union, co-operative conferences had been held in Scotland. The earliest to be traced was that established in Edinburgh in 1863. During its brief life—it died in 1867—it contrived to do much successful propaganda work and it no doubt sowed the seed out of which was to grow the East of Scotland Co-operative Conference Association.

Just a little later, as has been narrated in a previous chapter, a number of conferences called by enthusiasts were held in Glasgow, to consider the formation of a Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. Out of these conferences, held in 1866 and in 1867, there may be said to have originated two offsprings, viz., the Scottish National Conference and the Glasgow and Suburbs Co-operative Conference Associations, the latter of which forms the largest district co-operative conference association in Scotland.

These conferences have in the past been fruitful of much good, and just as the Wholesale sprang from the conference of 1866, so many later developments of that institution and of others owed their genesis to the papers and discussions held at their quarterly meetings. In a negative way, too, they have been beneficial. Idealist movements always tend to attract the cranks and the faddists, who have always crowded round the light of co-operation as the moths round a candle ; a thing bad for the moths and not good for the candle. These district conferences have been a kind of safety valve to the crocheteers. In these forensic arenas it has been possible to separate the sheep from the goats, to distinguish the practical from the unpractical, and that, too, with very little danger and as little expense.



A CLASS OF STUDENTS AT A CO-OPERATIVE SUMMER SCHOOL.

CHAPTER X.

SOME EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

THE continuous growth of the co-operative movement commercially, the influence of the annual congresses—which are held in Scotland once in every seven years, the first in Glasgow, in 1876, the last in Aberdeen, in 1912—had a profound effect in stimulating thoughtful men to examine the principles on which the movement had been founded, and to recognise the burden which its very success entailed. Men felt that the greater the success, the greater must be the capacity of those responsible for its guidance and direction. They saw, moreover, that the rapid addition to the membership meant a serious menace if the masses pouring in were not leavened by the co-operative spirit. The wisdom of the Rochdale Pioneers in setting aside a part of the trading surplus to provide education for their members had been demonstrated by results plain to all men.

In England, more than in Scotland, the Rochdale example had been followed, and it must be admitted that the development of co-operative education has been more advanced in England than in Scotland, even in this year of grace, 1919. To a certain extent this backwardness in educational effort has been due to the more effective system of national education that has prevailed north of the Tweed. The Scottish people have had schools and schoolmasters provided for them by local and national authorities in such abundant measure that co-operators have been tempted to think that they need not do anything for themselves.

The Congress at Woolwich (1896) and the Congress at Perth (1897) had each of them a striking influence in creating a forward movement in educational work. The Scottish section and the district conferences pressed upon societies their need of educational departments, and during the last

two decades of the nineteenth century the number of societies having a separate educational committee steadily increased. To co-ordinate this educational effort, a Scottish Educational Committees' Association was formed, with the late Dr. Henry Dyer as chairman, and Mr. James Deans, of the Scottish Section, as secretary. The work done by this body was very fruitful. The members met twice a year; at the first meeting a review of the winter's work was considered, and at the second meeting the committee submitted their proposals for the ensuing winter. In addition, an active propaganda was kept going by the publication of pamphlets and leaflets.

For a variety of reasons the National Conference came to the conclusion that the work of this body should be taken over by the Scottish section. One of the reasons was undoubtedly the increased activity of the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Union, which had not only organised classes throughout the United Kingdom, but had really created the Publications Department mentioned above. The appointment of an Adviser of Studies, in the person of Mr. F. Hall, M.A., with subordinates, gave a stimulus to every phase of co-operative education. There are signs, however, which point to the resuscitation of the Scottish Educational Committees' Association, and the new body will be more closely linked to the Central Committee than was its predecessor.*

One of the results of this new activity has been the institution of Summer Schools, the first of which, in Scotland, was held in Dunblane, in 1915. The world war did much to hinder the rapid growth of this new plant, but despite the untoward circumstances the Summer Schools held in Bridge of Allan and in Ayr have shown at once the need and the desire for adult education.

No history of co-operative education in Scotland would

* It has now been decided, October, 1919, to form a new Scottish Co-operative Educational Association on the lines recommended by the General Co-operative Survey Committee.

be complete if it did not include a short account of the *Scottish Co-operator*. In 1863, Mr. J. T. McInnes, of Barrhead, issued the first number, and it continued in existence until 1871, when it became one of the parents of the *Co-operative News*, published in Manchester. To its editorials and letters the co-operators of to-day owe the gigantic Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society. As might have been expected, a journal published in Manchester could not do justice to the movement in Scotland, especially when there were no local editions as at present. Hence, in 1891, there was issued by the energetic committee of the Kinning Park Society, Glasgow, the *Kinning Park Co-operator*. The value of this little journal was soon apparent to the co-operators of other societies in Glasgow, and so, in 1893, a society was formed to revive the *Scottish Co-operator*, in which the *Kinning Park Co-operator* was merged.

At first the new journal was published monthly, but the storm and stress of the boycott caused it to be issued, first fortnightly and later, weekly. Its early trials under some of its editors were in the nature of a tragedy, but when the late Dr. Henry Dyer filled the editorial chair the worries of the directors were greatly lessened.

Long before the State thought of giving the franchise to women, co-operative societies had placed the sexes on an equality. But from the nature of the home it was clear that women could not, in point of numbers at least, play an equal part with men in the management of the store. Women had not the same opportunities that men have of acquiring that training which comes from association and intercourse. Such were probably some of the considerations which prompted the delegates at the Congress held in Edinburgh, in 1883, to organise a meeting for women only. At this meeting a plan for forming a Women's League was sketched. This Women's League ultimately grew into the Co-operative Women's Guild in England; but it was not until some years later that a similar body was organised in Scotland. The honour of founding the Scottish Co-operative Women's Guild

may be ascribed specially to two persons, viz., the late Mr. Duncan McCulloch and Mrs. McLean.

In 1889 the Education Committee of the Kinning Park Society started domestic economy classes for women. These classes were so successful that a special conference was held to consider how this enterprise could be still further developed. Mr. McCulloch was the chairman at this meeting, where a letter from Mrs. McLean was read, sketching briefly how women could be mutually helpful in a guild. To Kinning Park, therefore, belongs the honour of forming the first branch. The idea spread, and soon every educational committee in Scotland was busy establishing branches of the Guild. From these branches was formed a central executive, and later on, to prevent excessive centralisation, the country was mapped out into sections in much the same fashion as the district conferences, although the boundaries of the two organisations do not coincide.

As with the Women's Guild so with the Men's Guild, the inspiration came from England and was of much later growth. The number of branches of the Men's Guild in Scotland is still comparatively small, and its central executive is still subsidiary to the parent body in England. There are indications that an attempt will be made to set up an independent executive, as in the case of the Women's Guild. Both guilds are financed partly by members' subscriptions, partly from the education funds of the societies, and partly by substantial grants-in-aid from the Co-operative Union. Much solid work has been done through these agencies, but there is a growing feeling that the equality of the sexes demands a union of these two guilds as educational auxiliaries, hence the present movement to form Mixed or Members' Guilds, open to both men and women.

This brief record of co-operative educational work has not taken into account every form of activity. It is impossible within the confines of this little book to detail every agency or even to detail the activities of the agencies mentioned. So far, most of the work done has been carried

out independently of other outside institutions, but already the leaders of educational effort, both inside and outside the co-operative body, have begun to recognise the possibilities of mutual helpfulness. No institution can live unto itself, and so the time is rapidly approaching when co-operators will join hands definitely with the universities in developing adult education. It is a good thing for education to precede propaganda, within as without co-operative borders.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ATTEMPT TO BOYCOTT CO-OPERATION.

THE commercial success which attended so many of the societies founded in the 'sixties, especially that of the Wholesale Society, not only attracted an ever-increasing number to join these stores, but caused the creation of a number of new societies. Nowhere was the influence of the Wholesale Society felt more than in Glasgow. As has been pointed out, the weaving villages, which clustered in close proximity to the Bishop's Burgh, had their own societies, which, in most cases, gradually passed away when the weaving industry fell into decay. The ill-fortune which attended these stores and the first and second Glasgow co-operative societies might have turned the second city of the Empire into a co-operative Sahara like London, had it not been for the example of the Wholesale and the United Co-operative Baking Society. Their success did more than anything else to create such important societies as Cowlares, St. George, Kinning Park, Glasgow Eastern, and others.

Amongst the later societies created through the Wholesale's influence was the Drapery and Furnishing Society founded in 1886. Before that date few of the societies had drapery or boot departments, and accordingly their members had been served at the wholesale premises by means of orders granted by the local societies. In this way a considerable retail business had been carried on by the Wholesale, especially to the great advantage of the city societies. The directors of the Wholesale were eventually forced, in the interests of all the members of the Federation, to issue a circular, intimating a cessation of this retail trade. As many of the societies believed at that time that they could not successfully



MR. JAMES DEANS

(SECRETARY, SCOTTISH SECTION CO-OPERATIVE UNION).

carry on drapery departments, it was agreed, after a special conference held by the Glasgow and Suburbs Association, to form a federated Drapery and Furnishing Society. At the outset, twelve societies joined the new venture, which began its career in Great Clyde Street, and success at once crowned their enterprise.

This success brought its own burden. The possibility of carrying on a prosperous retail drapery business had been conclusively shown, and thus it was that certain members of the Federation began to withdraw from that society in order to form drapery departments of their own.

This development precipitated a serious crisis, and at first it looked as if the Federation was to go the way which so many Scottish federations have followed. The appointment of Mr. Andrew S. Gardiner to the managership, and the transfer of the business premises to the Glasgow Cross, wrought a phenomenal change in the outlook, however, and business rapidly increased. Certain changes have taken place as the result of the secession of several societies. Individual members have been admitted, and grocery as well as other departments have been added to the business of the society.

Such a transfer of trade from private firms to co-operative societies as the ever-growing business of the Wholesale indicated could not be unfelt by private traders, although its effect was partially neutralised by the general expansion of trade. The consequence was that the amused contempt shown to co-operation in its earlier days began to turn into bitter hatred, and this bitter hatred made itself felt in a boycott campaign, which reached its greatest intensity in Glasgow. In 1888, the Scottish Traders' Defence Association was formed to combat co-operative propaganda. This association had recourse to the Press and the platform, and the result was a vigorous controversy, which culminated in a public debate between Mr. James Deans, for co-operation, and Mr. Robert Walker, for the Traders' Defence Association, regarding the respective merits of co-operative trading and private trading.

The chief result of this controversy was to stimulate co-operative activity, and still further to increase the trade and membership of societies. In consequence thereof the anti-co-operative war broke out with greater virulence in 1895-96, when for the first time the boycott was openly advocated, and employers of labour were called upon to dismiss all who were directly or indirectly connected with co-operation.

By this time a Co-operative Vigilance Committee had been formed, with Mr. Peter Glasse, a Wholesale director, as chairman, and Mr. James Deans, of the Co-operative Union, as secretary, to defend the rights of co-operators. There was an ample guarantee fund, and there was formed an effective secret service organisation, which kept the Committee in touch with every new departure of the Traders' Defence Association. The ink of the minutes of the Traders' meetings was hardly dry before every detail was in the hands of their opponents. The Traders were hardly less active in their campaign for meeting and defeating the plans of the Vigilance Committee, but the honours rested with the co-operators.

This period of storm and stress had all the exhilarating effect of war without its devastation. It generated a new enthusiasm for the cause, and it did much to precipitate direct co-operative political action. The public meetings of traders brought out the best of the old Scottish hecklers, and the public meetings of the co-operators created a new army of orators.

It is impossible here to deal with all the questions raised in this dispute. Two will suffice, the two most important, and they will serve to show how weak was the case of the traders. The first charge brought against the movement was that it could not employ its own members; and that it was not self-supporting, as the most of its members had to find employment with private firms. That such an argument, showing the deepest ignorance, could have been publicly used is only evidence that envy will blind men to reason.

The other charge brought against co-operators was that they received preferential treatment in the matter of income tax. At first glance there seems to be something of substance in the indictment. A shareholder in a joint-stock company has the tax deducted before he receives his dividend, whereas a member of a co-operative society receives his interest without deduction, but must pay the tax as an individual if his income comes within the scope of the tax. The difference in that case was made not to suit co-operators but to suit the State. As only about ten per cent of the members of co-operative societies are liable to income tax, it follows that the expense of refunding the tax to the other ninety per cent would more than swallow up what had been collected, if the customary method of collection were followed. As often happens, one word—dividend—has been the cause of much misunderstanding of the position. In the case of a company, the word dividend means the interest paid on the shares; in the case of a co-operative society, it means the surplus divided after all expenses have been met. This surplus is divided amongst the members in proportion to their purchases. If the prices are high the surplus will likewise be high, if low, then the surplus to be divided as dividend will be small. If a tax were levied on dividend it could quite easily be evaded by lowering the prices. One society in Scotland, the Progress Society, pays no dividend, its members receiving the benefit in lower prices. To tax dividend would be the same thing as to tax discount, and the effect of the tax in both cases would cause both to disappear.

Few adult co-operators lost their situations through the boycott; the chief casualties were amongst message boys and girls. It is true that the services of some good men were lost at this time, but there was much less suffering than was at first anticipated.

The worst effect was felt in the butchering trade, where the anti-co-operative propaganda took a new form. In June, 1896, the master butchers of Glasgow and district entered into a covenant not to deal with co-operative societies.

This action was followed by the meat salesmen refusing to accept offers made by co-operative buyers. As the meat markets were the property of the Corporation of Glasgow, this was felt to be an invasion of the civic rights of co-operators, and accordingly the Corporation were moved to promulgate bye-laws insisting on tenants of public stances accepting the highest bona-fide offer, no matter who the offerer might be. The bye-laws were evaded by the salesmen suspending public auctions and conducting all their business by private sales. Later on, a majority of the Town Council succeeded in rescinding the bye-laws, but these had now become of little importance, as the Wholesale Society had inaugurated direct shipment of States and Canadian cattle, and many societies had started dealing directly with farmers.

These attempts to check the commercial growth of co-operation were foredoomed to failure, and that for various reasons. There had been a steady development of the tendency towards co-operative practices, whether practised by special societies, by the municipality, or by the State. Public recognition of the value of such a system of trading had become more and more general. Along with this feeling there was also a deeper feeling, that boycott methods were inherently selfish and unfair, and were not in the public interest. But apart from public opinion, the importance and weight of which is never to be despised, the butchers were too late in making their attack. By 1896, co-operation in Scotland had become too strong financially to be thus summarily snuffed out, and this financial power the directors of the Wholesale and other societies quickly proceeded to put into operation. The chief results of the boycott were to stimulate the enthusiasm of the members, and to attract the attention of the outside world to the singular success of the co-operative movement.



TEACHERS AND STUDENTS PRESENT AT THE FIRST SCHOOL FOR CO-OPERATIVE POLITICAL ORGANISERS.

CHAPTER XII.

POLITICAL AND OTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

NOTHING more clearly demonstrates the superabundant vitality of co-operation in the first and second decades of the twentieth century than the numerous auxiliary organisations which sprang into existence about that time. Co-operation was like some vigorous tree sending leaf-covered branches out in every direction. It was as yet too full of sap to require the pruning knife.

Every need, real and imaginary, was met by these newly-created associations, councils, committees, or whatever they were called. These offshoots, while showing the vitality and the comprehensive grasp of co-operation, showed also a certain latent quality of adaptability to changing circumstances, which augurs well for its future development. Amongst the organisations called into being by the stress of the times were district hours and wages boards, with a national council as supreme court of appeal. These boards, as the name indicates, were intended to standardise local conditions of hours and wages, and were further meant to deal with disputes between societies and their employees.

By this time the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees had become very powerful, and there were several trials of strength between this Union and co-operative societies. This trade union differed in some respects from its fellows in that it embraced only the employees of co-operative societies, and further embraced all classes of servants without regard to their particular craft. This is not the place to enter into the comparative merits of trade unions or of the unfortunate disputes which arose. It is sufficient to say that these disputes were discreditable to the principle of co-operation, whatever their causes. On many occasions during the course of these disputes, when the employees met

committees or wages boards in conference, it was demonstrated that the employees outgeneralled their employers, merely because they were assisted at all of these meetings by a paid official, whose principal business it was to study the situation and prepare his brief. In dialectics, in business, or in war, the trained have always a good chance of prevailing over the untrained. Hence it was resolved to add to the staff of the Co-operative Union an official whose chief duty would be to assist in settling such disputes. It must not be inferred from this statement that co-operators merely sought a gladiator able to contend on more equal terms with the representatives of the A.U.C.E. It was rather their desire to have one at hand whose knowledge would be of such a sort that he would be able to prevent strife rather than take part in it. These troubles brought the co-operative movement more closely into touch with trade-unionism than it had been hitherto. Most of the members were undoubtedly trade-unionists, but up till recent years it had been felt that co-operation and trade-unionism were two separate bodies, much as the church and co-operation are separate bodies.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century a change of policy had taken place. The unions had agreed to take political action, sometimes directly through their own organisation and sometimes in connection with the new Labour Party that was rising. But while nearly all the unions were now controlled by those who believed that they should have representatives in the House of Commons, it must be confessed that the same feeling was not so widespread amongst the rank-and-file. The results of elections clearly proved that the members of the union were not generally in favour of the official nominee of the party.

This change of policy on the part of trade unions had a profound influence on the co-operative movement, coming as it did at a time when a closer *rapprochement* between those two wings was being sought and desired by both sides. Co-operators were the first to give evidence of their goodwill

by insisting that all of their employees should join a trade union, and several of the unions have since responded to this evidence of goodwill by advising their members to join the co-operative society in their vicinity, and by arranging to make the wholesale societies their bankers. Such a junction of forces is bound to have not only a strong reactive effect on the two institutions themselves, but also on other institutions, whether political or capitalistic.

Hitherto, the aim of the mere trade-unionist has been too narrow. He has been engaged at his best in defending his interests, at his worst in securing the best bargain for himself and his fellows. From co-operation he may acquire two things indispensable for the good citizen—a noble idealism and a practical knowledge of a master's difficulties and something of a master's skill.

Of the six co-operative congresses held in Scotland, the most noteworthy, to judge by their after influence, were the Perth Congress, held in 1897, and the Paisley Congress, held in 1905. At the former, Sir William Maxwell, so long chairman of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society and president of the International Co-operative Alliance, had for the subject of his inaugural address: "Direct Parliamentary Representation." Sir Wm. Maxwell was one of the most eloquent platform speakers of his time, and there is little wonder that the delegates present passed a resolution in favour of political action and remitted the question to the Co-operative Union to give the resolution a practical application. But the Union was not long in discovering that while delegates fired by eloquence may pass resolutions, they have not the power to pass on the influence of the winged word to their members at home. Hence it came about that few of the societies cared to identify themselves with this new movement. The subject was again brought before the delegates at Paisley by Mr. Thomas Tweddell, then vice-chairman of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society. Although Mr. Tweddell's paper was a cogent exposition of the case for political action, the majority of the delegates,

warned by the previous fiasco, voted against the proposal and so the matter seemed to be ended.

At this stage it is interesting to compare the attitude of English co-operators with that of Scottish co-operators. It will be admitted—whether they deserve praise or not is a matter of opinion—that Scottish co-operators were the more eager of the two to embark on the stormy sea of politics ; but while this is so, English co-operators have been the first to have a co-operative representative in Parliament. This difference between the two lies partly in their differing national characteristics and partly in the fact that Rochdale memories have a stronger influence in England than in Scotland.

It may safely be affirmed that the co-operators of Scotland, for the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, belonged generally to the Radical Party. For them, therefore, there was no need to have direct Parliamentary representation as they found that through the Radical Party in Scotland, and until 1884 many thousands of them were without the franchise. They were keen politicians, vote or no vote, and followed the polemics of politicians with the same fervour that their ancestors had followed the polemics of theologians. This very eagerness and keenness made them essentially party men, thirled to a party banner and party leaders ; their sense of loyalty holding them fast to the old shibboleths.

The widening of the franchise created a new situation in England as in Scotland, and there began to emerge the first signs of a distinctive Labour Party ; but it must be observed that the Scottish labour leaders found their first seats in England. It was now possible for men to leave either of the two historic parties, Liberal and Conservative, and join the new organisation. This, many co-operators did, at least in the larger industrial centres, which are more cosmopolitan than purely Scottish.

With the zeal of new converts a few began to lead their fellows into the new fold. While they were successful in

attracting individuals they were not successful in altering the official policy of the movement, as it was argued that the co-operative door should be wide enough to admit men and women of every sect and section. The second of the boycott campaigns in the closing years of the nineteenth century was perhaps the immediate cause of the cessation of co-operative neutrality in local government. The butchers' boycott in Glasgow was the most important factor in that connection. Co-operators now saw that their rights as citizens were going to be seriously imperilled if they had not representatives on local authorities alert enough to look after their interests. Hence there was formed in the Scottish Section a Defence Committee, whose duty it was to assist in the return of candidates pledged to support co-operation to town councils, county councils, parish councils, and school boards.

The success of this committee need not be judged altogether by the number of candidates elected to the various councils. Judged by that standard alone the results were disappointing to those eager for the new departure. But the impression produced on co-operators themselves as well as on those antagonistic to them was profound. The boycott had been killed, but these trials of strength at the polls buried it. For co-operators themselves it was the first step along a new road ; and the first step is always the costly one.

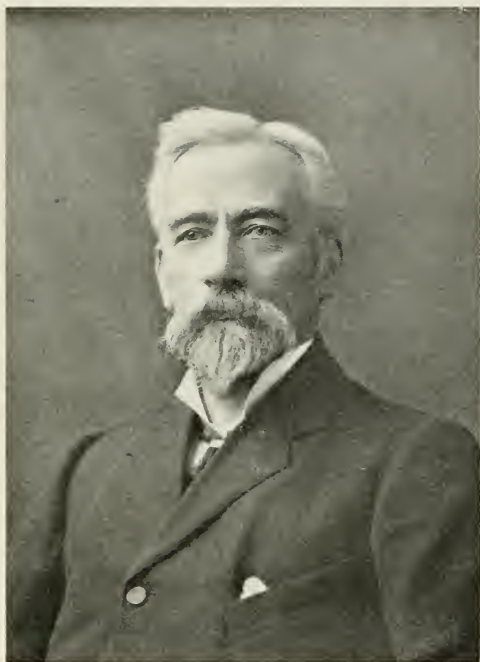
If the war had not come it is possible that the evacuation of the citadel of political neutrality might have been a much longer drawn-out affair, but the war quickened the pace. Government control of the supply of foodstuffs—an absolute necessity in that desperate conflict—proved how beneficial it was to have a friend in court. Private interests were again and again safeguarded at the expense of the consumers, both co-operative and otherwise. Societies had to labour under disadvantages which other retailers had not to suffer. How effective this was for certain purposes may be gauged from the fact that in some cases nearly half of the members

of a society registered with outside dealers, simply because their societies had been unfairly handicapped in procuring supplies.

A special Co-operative National Emergency Conference met in London in 1917 to discuss this untoward state of affairs and to determine what action should be taken. Events were pointing to political action. As has been mentioned, direct political action had been advocated at two previous congresses. At the Portsmouth Congress the veteran Sir William Maxwell had startled the co-operative world by his "fusion of forces proposal," by which he meant a political alliance between co-operators and the Labour Party. From that time onward there were three sections in the movement, one seeking to retain neutrality, another pressing for an alliance with the Labour Party, and yet another seeking to form a new co-operative party.

The Swansea Congress, held in 1917, decided that there should be an independent co-operative party. At the same time there was a general understanding that friendly relations should be maintained with the various sections of the Labour Party. Before this official decision had been made, action had already been taken by Scottish co-operators, and a Central Co-operative Parliamentary Representation Committee, representing every conference district in Scotland, had been formed. In a way this was the resuscitation of the old Defence Committee, which had been found so useful in local politics. In addition to this national committee, the district associations proceeded to form local committees to deal with the organisation of the co-operative vote in the respective constituencies. These Scottish organisations anticipated the arrangements approved by Congress, although some friction arose when the Central Committee for the United Kingdom refused to recognise the position of the Scottish committee.

The General Election in December, 1918, severely tried this hastily improvised constitution, and although three seats were contested in the co-operative interest, none of the candidates were successful. The three candi-



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dates were Mr. Biggar, for Paisley, Mr. May, for Clackmannan, and Mr. Malcolm, for Kilmarnock. The first-named was nearer success than the other two, both of whom polled a large number of votes.

What effect this development will have upon co-operation in Scotland only the future can tell. There never was a time in its history when the task of forming a Co-operative Party in the State was easier than it is to-day. The war broke down the old party barriers, and out of the unrest—political, social, and industrial—new combinations are bound to arise. Some indeed think the time has come for scrapping the party system and for creating a new machine for carrying on the government of the country. In the immediate future there will be changes, great changes, and there will be an opportunity for co-operators to bring into the new world that is arising their idealism and their practice, in order that as a result of the co-operation of each with all the good of each and all may be increased.



APPENDIX.

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SCOTTISH CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY.

PROGRESS FROM COMMENCEMENT, DECEMBER, 1868, TO DECEMBER, 1918.

Year Ended.	Number of Shares Subscribed. Societies.	Number of Shares Subscribed. Employees.	Capital, including Share, Deposit, Reserve and Insurance Fund.	Net Sales.	Net Profit.	Average rate of Dividend.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Dec. 7, 1868.....			1,795 0 0	9,697 7 1	48 12 10	...
" 5, 1869.....			5,174 17 4	81,094 2 6	1,303 15 0	3½d.
Nov. 19, 1870.....			12,542 17 9	105,249 12 4	2,418 9 2	4½d.
" 18, 1871.....			18,009 3 1	162,658 7 7	4,131 8 6	5½d.
" 16, 1872.....			30,931 5 3	262,530 19 10	5,435 3 9	4½d.
" 15, 1873.....			50,433 3 5	384,489 4 0	7,445 19 1	4½d.
" 14, 1874.....			48,981 15 6	409,947 7 11	7,553 5 2	4½d.
" 13, 1875.....			56,750 16 0	430,169 7 11	8,232 11 6	4d.
" 4, 1876.....			67,218 18 5	457,529 0 4	8,836 2 3	4d.
" 3, 1877.....			72,568 12 9	589,221 9 3	10,925 8 3	4d.
" 2, 1878.....			83,173 17 8	600,590 9 8	11,968 1 9	4d.
" 2, 1879.....			93,076 18 9	630,097 11 10	14,988 19 6	4½d.
Oct. 30, 1880.....			110,179 2 11	845,221 15 6	21,685 4 8	6½d.
Nov. 5, 1881.....			135,713 7 10	986,646 13 8	23,981 9 0	6d.
" 4, 1882.....			169,428 13 5	1,100,588 16 6	23,219 14 6	5½d.
" 3, 1883.....			195,396 11 0	1,253,154 7 1	28,365 18 5	5½d.
" 3, 1884.....			244,186 10 9	1,300,331 10 1	29,434 13 9	5½d.
Oct. 31, 1885.....			288,945 16 1	1,438,220 7 8	39,641 8 4	6½d.
Dec. 25, 1886.....			333,653 1 0	1,857,152 0 4	50,398 13 10	6½d.

Dec.	31,	1887.....	87,220	....	367,309	4	0	1,810,015	15	6	47,278	6	5	6½d.
"	29,	1888.....	96,521	....	409,668	15	1	1,963,853	16	2	53,538	17	3	6½d.
"	28,	1889.....	107,004	....	480,662	2	6	2,273,782	0	7	61,756	14	3	6½d.
"	27,	1890.....	117,664	....	575,322	5	11	2,475,601	9	3	76,545	16	2	7d.
"	26,	1891.....	131,086	....	671,108	14	1	2,828,036	16	7	89,090	12	7	6½d.
"	31,	1892.....	139,022	....	771,108	13	4	3,104,768	8	7	96,027	3	10	6½d.
"	30,	1893.....	149,164	2,726	869,756	5	10	3,135,562	7	8	89,116	6	1	6½d.
"	29,	1894.....	159,820	2,629	940,835	15	7	3,056,582	18	9	88,452	0	3	6d.
"	28,	1895.....	171,985	3,099	1,134,269	19	6	3,449,461	10	9	132,374	7	4	7d.
"	26,	1896.....	189,763	3,194	1,237,317	14	0	3,822,580	17	6	174,982	0	2	7½d.
"	25,	1897.....	211,859	4,308	1,286,624	4	4	4,405,854	3	7	156,341	12	1	8d.
"	31,	1898.....	223,669	5,054	1,333,077	19	9	4,692,330	9	9	165,580	11	10	7d.
"	30,	1899.....	240,873	5,629	1,457,645	4	10	5,014,189	0	5	213,596	15	3	8d.
"	29,	1900.....	251,376	6,481	1,676,765	7	2	5,463,631	2	8	222,366	12	0	8d.
"	28,	1901.....	270,920	7,059	1,929,113	18	5	5,700,743	7	3	231,686	9	9	8d.
"	27,	1902.....	281,258	7,471	2,125,133	12	11	6,059,119	5	2	239,001	17	9	8d.
"	26,	1903.....	301,479	8,487	2,314,955	14	8	6,395,487	15	10	239,321	18	11	8d.
"	31,	1904.....	321,112	10,415	2,500,063	17	10	6,801,272	8	8	269,601	12	8	8d.
"	30,	1905.....	345,226	12,271	2,780,729	6	7	6,939,738	6	0	250,680	7	6	8d.
"	29,	1906.....	365,907	12,863	2,950,620	12	2	7,140,182	10	10	280,434	12	6	8d.
"	28,	1907.....	381,271	13,486	3,059,245	2	9	7,603,460	7	0	289,197	16	10	8d.
"	26,	1908.....	393,549	14,206	3,292,045	14	7	7,531,126	8	0	263,577	6	4	8d.
"	25,	1909.....	400,618	15,159	3,346,873	0	9	7,457,136	3	9	271,926	18	6	8d.
"	31,	1910.....	415,526	15,704	3,455,627	16	6	7,738,158	16	5	273,563	18	7	8d.
"	30,	1911.....	431,045	16,076	3,838,046	0	2	7,851,079	10	0	308,890	10	10	8d. & 1d. Spe'al.
"	28,	1912.....	439,969	16,634	4,038,913	12	9	8,391,258	5	2	301,154	1	6	8d.
"	27,	1913.....	451,041	17,824	4,468,463	2	11	8,964,033	12	3	340,730	8	2	8d.
"	26,	1914.....	461,645	18,699	4,954,915	9	4	9,425,383	17	2	393,115	16	6	8½d.
"	25,	1915.....	482,673	22,726	5,298,920	3	7½	11,363,075	12	4	456,546	12	4½	9d.
"	30,	1916.....	501,604	24,081	5,525,264	8	7½	14,499,037	2	3	501,531	13	10	8d.
"	29,	1917.....	571,458	25,001	5,304,499	1	11	17,083,274	12	2	408,209	4	8½	5½d.
"	28,	1918.....	597,883	25,791	5,773,569	8	2½	19,216,762	18	7	481,318	0	8½	5½d.

Statistics relating to the Membership and Trade of Scottish Retail Distributive Co-operative Societies.

(The following Tables are taken from the reports of the General Co-operative
Survey Committee, published by the Co-operative Union.)

MEMBERSHIP OF RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES IN SCOTLAND IN 1901 AND 1911 AND PERCENTAGE RELATION OF MEMBERSHIP TO POPULATION.

COUNTY.	1901.		1911.	
	Number of Members.	Per cent of Population.	Number of Members.	Per cent of Population.
Aberdeen	19,164	6·29	19,961	6·39
Argyll	383	·52	422	·60
Ayr	19,915	7·83	26,111	9·73
Banff	428	·70	522	·85
Berwick	227	·74	260	·88
Bute	100	·53	100	·55
Caithness	1,566	4·62	1,468	4·59
Clackmannan	6,871	21·45	8,236	26·46
Dumbarton	11,629	10·21	18,051	12·91
Dumfries	1,909	2·63	3,187	4·38
Edinburgh	45,927	9·40	65,451	12·89
Elgin	42	·09	108	·25
Fife	21,743	9·94	31,492	11·76
Forfar	27,666	9·74	32,225	11·45
Haddington	3,029	7·83	4,836	11·18
Inverness .....	....	..	271	·31
Kincardine	374	·91	324	·79
Kinross	192	2·75	289	3·84
Kirkcudbright	60	·15	187	·49
Lanark	78,884	5·89	110,082	7·61
Linlithgow	5,809	8·84	8,192	10·22
Nairn .....	....	..	....	..
Orkney .....	....	..	....	..
Peebles	1,293	8·58	1,643	10·77
Perth	8,009	6·50	10,901	8·77
Renfrew	21,285	7·91	30,940	9·84
Ross and Cromarty .....	....	..	....	..
Roxburgh	4,794	9·82	4,978	10·55
Selkirk	3,773	16·15	3,404	13·84
Shetland .....	....	..	190	·68
Stirling	16,554	11·37	22,457	13·06
Sutherland .....	....	..	....	..
Wigtown .....	....	..	123	·38
Scotland as a whole	301,626	6·74	406,411	8·54

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATIVE TRADE IN SCOTLAND

IN RELATION TO POPULATION: YEAR 1911.

(This table should be compared with the table of membership for the same counties in the same year.)

COUNTY.	Population.	1911.	
		Total Retail Co-operative Sales.	Average Co-operative Sales per Head of Population.
		£	£ s. d.
Aberdeen	312,177	745,725	2 7 9
Argyll	70,902	11,272	0 3 2
Ayr	268,337	920,127	3 8 7
Banff	61,402	9,675	0 3 2
Berwick	29,643	5,746	0 3 11
Bute	18,186	2,014	0 2 3
Caithness	32,010	21,445	0 13 5
Clackmannan	31,121	333,709	10 14 5
Dumbarton	139,831	723,917	5 3 6
Dumfries	72,825	92,044	1 5 3
Edinburgh	507,666	2,636,101	5 3 10
Elgin	43,427	2,060	0 0 11
Fife	267,739	1,313,469	4 18 1
Forfar	281,417	672,326	2 7 9
Haddington	43,254	202,635	4 13 9
Inverness	87,272	4,702	0 1 1
Kincardine	41,008	3,497	0 1 8
Kinross	7,527	7,791	1 0 9
Kirkcudbright	38,367	4,712	0 2 6
Lanark	1,447,034	4,322,184	2 19 9
Linlithgow	80,155	349,914	4 7 4
Nairn	9,319	....	....
Orkney	25,897	....	....
Peebles	15,258	89,251	5 17 0
Perth	124,342	324,908	2 12 3
Renfrew	314,552	1,061,813	3 7 6
Ross and Cromarty	77,364	....	....
Roxburgh	47,192	167,530	3 11 0
Selkirk	24,601	146,435	5 19 0
Shetland	27,911	1,840	0 1 4
Stirling	166,991	1,061,698	6 11 11
Sutherland	20,179	....	....
Wigtown	31,998	4,411	0 2 9
Scotland as a whole	4,760,904	£15,242,951	£3 4 0

RETAIL DISTRIBUTIVE CO-OPERATION.

Trade per Member in the Counties of Scotland in 1901 and 1911.

COUNTY.	1901.			1911.		
	Number of Members.	Total Retail Co-operative Trade.	Average Sales per Member	Number of Members.	Total Retail Co-operative Trade.	Average Sales per Member
		£	£ s.		£	£ s.
Aberdeen	19,164	572,053	29 17	19,961	745,725	37 7
Argyll	383	10,355	27 1	422	11,272	26 14
Ayr	19,915	695,911	34 19	26,111	920,127	35 5
Banff	428	8,990	21 0	522	9,675	18 11
Berwick	227	5,909	26 1	260	5,746	22 2
Bute	100	2,408	24 2	100	2,014	20 3
Caithness	1,566	21,690	13 17	1,468	21,445	14 12
Clackmannan ..	6,871	243,854	35 10	8,236	333,709	40 10
Dumbarton	11,629	508,050	43 14	18,051	723,917	40 2
Dumfries	1,909	51,431	26 19	3,187	92,044	28 18
Edinburgh	45,927	1,889,787	41 3	65,451	2,636,101	40 6
Elgin	42	746	17 15	108	2,060	19 1
Fife	21,743	854,788	39 6	31,492	1,313,469	41 14
Forfar	27,666	578,825	20 18	32,225	672,326	20 17
Haddington	3,029	126,374	41 14	4,836	202,635	41 18
Inverness	...	...	..	271	4,702	17 7
Kincardine	374	5,280	14 2	324	3,497	10 16
Kinross	192	3,308	17 5	289	7,791	26 19
Kirkcudbright ..	60	1,561	26 0	187	4,712	25 4
Lanark	78,884	3,283,481	41 13	110,082	4,322,184	39 5
Linlithgow	5,809	271,607	46 15	8,192	349,914	42 14
Nairn	...	...	..	...	...	..
Orkney	...	...	..	...	...	..
Peebles	1,293	71,015	54 18	1,643	89,251	54 6
Perth	8,009	241,960	30 4	10,901	324,908	29 16
Renfrew	21,285	754,856	35 9	30,940	1,061,813	34 6
Ross & Cromarty	...	...	..	...	...	..
Roxburgh	4,794	148,165	30 18	4,978	167,530	33 13
Selkirk	3,773	131,868	34 19	3,404	146,435	43 0
Shetland	...	...	..	190	1,840	9 14
Stirling	16,554	754,128	45 11	22,457	1,061,698	47 6
Sutherland	...	...	..	...	...	..
Wigtown	...	...	..	123	4,411	35 17
Scotland as a whole	301,626	£ 11,238,400	£ s. 37 5	406,411	£ 15,242,951	£ s. 37 10

STATISTICS RELATING TO CO-OPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP, RETAIL TRADE, AND
WHOLESALE TRADE, IN THE VARIOUS COUNTIES OF
SCOTLAND IN 1916.

(Compiled from previous Survey Reports, Government Reports, Congress Reports, and S.C.W.S. Balance Sheets.)

COUNTY.	Member- ship.	RETAIL TRADE.*		WHOLESALE TRADE.†		Per cent of Wholesale Trade to Retail Trade.
		Total.	Average per member.	Total.	Average per Retail member.	
		£	£	£	£	%
Aberdeenshire	20,706	1,023,863	49·45	48,345	2·33	4·72
Argyleshire	536	16,818	31·38	12,779	23·84	75·98
Ayrshire	34,740	1,604,899	46·20	980,024	28·21	61·06
Banffshire	521	10,498	20·15	77	0·15	0·73
Berwick	304	4,595	15·12	3,592	11·82	78·17
Buteshire	118	3,500	29·66	2,567	21·75	73·34
Caithnessshire	1,521	26,962	17·73	15,061	9·90	55·86
Clackmannan	9,458	477,213	50·46	175,654	18·57	36·81
Dumbarton	24,509	1,397,670	57·03	758,690	30·96	54·28
Dumfries-shire	4,177	184,216	44·10	104,032	24·91	56·47
Edinburgh	78,062	3,565,644	45·68	1,739,265	22·28	48·78
Elgin	385	2,914	7·57	3,002	7·80	103·02
Fifeshire	41,156	2,022,276	49·14	1,045,323	25·40	51·69
Forfarshire	34,104	848,453	24·88	199,701	5·86	23·54
Haddingtonshire	6,220	299,569	48·16	152,708	24·55	50·98
Inverness-shire	416	8,030	19·30	3,255	7·82	40·54
Kincardineshire	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kinross-shire	327	10,374	31·72	4,645	14·20	44·78
Kirkcudbright	253	8,545	33·77	4,989	19·72	58·39
Lanarkshire	153,213	7,686,825	50·17	4,141,793	27·03	53·88
Linlithgowshire	10,000	559,972	56·00	312,438	31·24	55·80
Nairnshire	..	..	..	..	..	..
Orkney	..	..	..	..	..	..
Peeblesshire	2,018	108,786	53·91	47,762	23·67	43·90
Perthshire	11,809	419,562	35·53	242,136	20·50	57·71
Renfrewshire	43,246	1,907,245	44·10	1,284,558	29·70	67·35
Ross and Cromarty	..	..	..	..	..	..
Roxburghshire	5,318	213,931	40·23	85,206	16·02	39·83
Selkirkshire	3,850	183,497	47·66	75,887	19·71	41·36
Shetland	..	..	..	..	..	..
Stirlingshire	27,150	1,462,736	53·88	839,534	30·92	57·39
Sutherlandshire	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wigtownshire	204	6,621	32·46	4,425	21·69	66·83
Scotland as a whole	514,321	24,065,214	46·79	12,287,448	23·89	51·06

* Retail trade at retail prices.

† Wholesale trade at wholesale prices.

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